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Syntax and Semantics of the Time-Denoting Adverbs in -ως  
as Used in Private Letters of the Greco-Roman Egypt

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## Introduction

The word “adverb” (ἐπίρρημα) itself indicates its function in the phrase structure (ἐπί + ῥῆμα in Greek, *ad + verbum* in Latin). An adverb is a non-inflected part of speech which defines the verb and reveals mainly place, manner, time or amount. It provides information about the conditions under which the action described by the verb of a sentence is performed. Although the nouns and the verbs are the key terms of a sentence, the adverb provides greater informativity to the speech since it concerns the non-textual, broader contexts within which a proposition is uttered, or within which the actions or events described in this utterance occur or have occurred. The place and time are the two main pillars upon which thinking is structured (see Haspelmath 1997, 1). Moreover, although it is difficult to define a rule concerning the truth conditions of the adverbs (see Lycan, 2000, 122), the only way to verify the fact of an action or event is to specify the time and the place where this very action has taken place (see Cresswell 1985, 1). The benchmark on which people consider an event or an action is determined by the use of adverbs. In other words, the state of affairs on the basis of which a proposition is true or false can be defined by adverbs. However, this grammatical category is not studied as much as it should be, and the accessible knowledge about it is limited (see Alexiadou 1997, 1).

The existence of adverbs as a grammatical category was observed as far back in time as when the ancient theorists composed their grammars. However, although all these ancient grammarians noticed that many adverbs derive from an adjectival stem with the addition of the suffix -ως, they did not explore their syntax and semantics. Contrary to their morphology, the syntax and the semantics of adverbs in -ως is not discussed in grammars of the ancient Greek language either. Kühner (1836 and 1857) and Schwyzer (1950) discussed the adverbs in general in a section of their work, but without considering the adverbs ending in -ως separately. Mayser (*Gram.* I, 457 and *Gram.* II 2, 176) classified the adverbs in -ως as of manner, but Funk (1961, 55-57) just implied that these adverbs denote manner. However, it seems that their approach is generalized and oversimplified, because it cannot predict various exceptions. A very important piece of information is provided by Moulton (1963, vol. 2, 163-164), who observed that the derivation of the adverbs in -ως was more common in the New Testament Greek, and, therefore, it seems that people used those adverbs frequently in their everyday speech. However, no further information about their use is available in the bibliography so far.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the syntax, meaning, and use of the adverbs ending in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , which have a direct or indirect temporal connotation in ancient Greek non-literary private letters. The intention is not to discuss objective time, as directly indicated with specific adverbs, such as *yesterday*, *today*, *tomorrow*. On the contrary, my intention is to examine the subjective time, as it is described in the papyri through the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$ . This does not mean that the perception of time is relative, and varies from time to time and from culture to culture, but that statements, which seemingly reveal the manner in which an event occurred, provide information about the time as well.

The nature of the thesis is papyrological. Consequently, all restorations of fragmentary or lost parts of papyri which contain adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  are based on conclusions drawn from this surface structure analysis. Deep structures are examined only when necessary, in order to demonstrate a view. The interface between syntax and semantics is taken into account, but the expression of personal opinions on this issue is avoided, since it pertains to deep structures. Regarding semantics, meanings of adverbs are examined. The adverbs contemplated herein normally indicate manner, but it is illustrated that in specific contexts, and by applying pragmatic interpretation they denote time as well, or at least they provide information about the time of an event or an action. For this reason a morphological criterion was used in the selection of the material: adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , which is thought to denote manner, may eventually have further connotations. This thesis is mainly interested in exactly that result of the pragmatic inference.

The first chapter is a brief historical overview of the views of grammarians from antiquity until today regarding adverbs both in general, and, specifically, about those ending in  $-\omega\varsigma$ . The reasons and the method of the discussion of these specific adverbs when denoting time and a brief examination of the modern bibliography concerning the syntax and use of adverbs in papyri follow.

The historical overview which follows does not necessarily reveal the degree of consciousness of the common man using an adverb, and/or the degree of his language competence, but it is useful to show how thinking about this part of speech evolved through centuries, and what has influenced the shaping of my working method. Although my study does not discuss the morphology, the opinions of grammarians of ancient Greek language concerning the morphology of adverbs are presented in this introduction, in an effort to recognize what is and what is not an adverb. The historical overview of the studies on adverbs is divided into three parts: (a) Views of the ancient grammarians regarding the adverbs, (b) views of the modern grammarians regarding the adverbs in the ancient Greek

language, and (c) a brief examination of general literature, which will show the directions of modern linguistics on adverbs in various languages of the world, but especially in English.

### 1. Views of the ancient theorists regarding the adverbs.

The existence of a non-inflected part of speech, which had to do mainly with the verb had already been identified by the ancient grammarians. Dionysius Thrax (II B.C.) defined eight parts of speech<sup>1</sup> and among them the adverb, which he discussed in the section Περὶ ἐπιρρήματος<sup>2</sup> of his work. Dionysius was mostly interested in the morphology of words, and so examined the syntax only on occasion. In any case, the function of the adverbs is undoubtedly the modification of the verbs<sup>3</sup>. Dionysius Thrax distributed the adverbs in twenty-six subcategories, which were not defined on certain rules. Some adverbs were categorized on the basis of their morphology, such as the ἐπιρρήματα μεσότητος, that is, the ones ending in -ως<sup>4</sup>, some adverbs on the basis of their syntactic function and their semantic meaning, such as the χρόνου δηλωτικά, the ποσότητος, and the τοπικά, and, finally, some other adverbs clearly on the basis of their semantic meaning, e.g. the ἐπιρρήματα ποιότητος.

The comments of many ancient scholars on the work of Dionysius are preserved and assist greatly in understanding the work of the Alexandrian grammarian. One of these commentators pointed out that the difference between the adverb and the other indeclinable parts of speech is that the adverb's function is only the modification of the verb<sup>5</sup>. Another commentator observed among other things that the adverb modifies the verb as a whole or partially<sup>6</sup>.

Moreover, the view of the anonymous grammarian, which is preserved in *P.Lit.Lond.* 182 (= *P.Lond.* 126) and is dated to the Roman-Byzantine period, was probably influenced by

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<sup>1</sup> See D.T., *Ars grammatica* 1.1.23: Τοῦ δὲ λόγου μέρη ἐστὶν ὀκτώ· ὄνομα, ῥῆμα, μετοχή, ἄρθρον, | ἀντωνυμία, πρόθεσις, ἐπίρρημα, σύνδεσμος. ἡ γὰρ προσηγορία ὡς εἶδος | τῷ ὀνόματι ὑποβέβληται.

<sup>2</sup> See D.T., *Ars grammatica* 1.1.72.3-86.1.

<sup>3</sup> See D.T., *Ars grammatica* 1.1.72.4-5: Ἐπίρρημά ἐστι μέρος λόγου ἄκλιτον, κατὰ ῥήματος λεγόμενον ἢ | ἐπιλεγόμενον ῥήματι.

<sup>4</sup> See *Comm. in D.T. Art. Gram.* 59.27-60.2 τὰ δὲ μεσότητος ἐπιρρήματα οὐκ ἀπὸ ἐννοίας τινὸς ὀνόμασται· πλείστας γὰρ διαφορὰς ἔχει ἐννοιῶν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ γίνεται ἀπὸ τῆς γενικῆς τῶν πληθυντικῶν τῆς μέσης οὔσης τῶν τριῶν γενῶν, τοῦ ν μόνου εἰς ζ τρεπομένου, διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖται μεσότητος, οἷον τῶν καλῶν· αὕτη γενικὴ οὔσα πληθυντικὴ μέση ἐστὶ, τουτέστι κοινὴ, ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλυκοῦ καὶ οὐδετέρου, οἱ καλοὶ τῶν καλῶν, αἱ καλαὶ τῶν καλῶν, τὰ καλά τῶν καλῶν· τραπέντος οὖν τοῦ ν εἰς ζ, ὡς ἔφαμεν, γίνεται τὸ ἐπίρρημα καλῶς· σοφῶν σοφῶς ὁμοίως. See also *Comm. in D.T. Art. Gramm.* 97.31-98.5.

<sup>5</sup> See *Comm. in D.T. Art. Gram.* 59.4-59.11 εἰπὼν δὲ τὸ «κατὰ ῥήματος λεγόμενον ἢ ἐπιλεγόμενον ῥήματι» καὶ τούτων αὐτὸ ἀπεμέρισεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον μέρος λόγου τῷ ῥήματι ἐπιφορὰν ἀναγκαστικῶς ποιεῖται, προταττόμενον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥήματος ἢ ὑποταττόμενον, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄνομα εἴληχε, «καλῶς ἦλθεν, ἦλθε καλῶς, σοφῶς ἔφη, ἔφη σοφῶς».

<sup>6</sup> See *Comm. in D.T. Art. Gram.* 96.13-96.15 «κατὰ ῥήματος λεγόμενον ἢ ἐπιλεγόμενον ῥήματι» ἔλλιπῶς ἐνταῦθα ἔχει, καὶ δεῖ προσθεῖναι «καθόλου ἢ μερικῶς».

Dionysius' concept, since the discussion of the two grammarians present many similarities. The anonymous grammarian agreed that the only function of the adverb is the modification of the verb, and that adverbs should be divided into many subcategories<sup>7</sup>, but he classified some of these together, regarding e.g. the adverbs of the medium state or condition in the same group with those of quality<sup>8</sup>, without explaining the reasons of this merging.

Another anonymous grammarian, whose text was preserved in *P.Yale* I 25 (inv. no 446, dated to the Roman-Byzantine period) acknowledged nine parts of speech, an adverb being among them<sup>9</sup>. He pointed out that the adverb serves as a modifier to the verb, and divides adverbs into twelve subcategories, based on their meaning<sup>10</sup>. Neither of these two anonymous grammarians classified the adverb as a non-inflected part of speech, as Dionysius Thrax had done. However, both of them use the word ἀσυνθέτως to describe the manner in which the adverb operates within a sentence.

The section, in which the anonymous grammarian of *P.Heid.Siegmann* 197 (inv. no 1893, dated to the Roman-Byzantine period) discussed adverbs, has been preserved in a very fragmentary condition, and the restoration of the passage is so extensive that it is not certain if the restored words and phrases indeed correspond to what was originally written. His analysis<sup>11</sup> is like a blending of *P.Yale* I 25 and Dionysius Thrax. The same applies to the study<sup>12</sup> of the author of *P.Harr.* 59 (inv. 172b + 182h, dated to the Roman-Byzantine period). The contribution of the anonymous grammarian preserved in *P.Ant.* II 68 (dated to the Roman-Byzantine period) is brief, but not necessarily concise, compared with these of the previously mentioned grammarians. He distinguished eight parts of speech<sup>13</sup>, and simply mentioned a typical word for each of them. The adverb σαφῶς is mentioned as a typical one

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *P.Lit.Lond.* 182, 80-82 ἐπίρρημα τί ἐστίν; λέξεις καθ' ἓνα σχηματισμὸν ἐκφερομένη, προτακτικὴ καὶ ὑποτακτικὴ ῥήματος ἀσυνθέτου, ἐν <πολλοῖς> εἶδεσι θεωρουμένη.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *P.Lit.Lond.* 182, 82-86: τῶν δὲ ἐπίρρημάτων ἃ μὲν ἐστὶν μεσότητος καὶ ποιότητος δηλωτικά, οἷον καλῶς, σοφῶς, ἄρδην, ἀνέδην, βοτρυδόν, ἀπριάτην, νύξ, γνύξ, λάξ, ὀδάξ, ἀν, νων· ἀκονίτι, σάφα, μάλα, λικριφίς, ἀμοιβηδής, ἐλληνιστί, συριστί, καὶ ἔτι πλείονα.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *P.Yale* I 25, 2-5: τοῦτου [δὲ μέρη ἐστὶ]ν ἐννέα, ὄνομα, προση[γορία, μετοχή], ἀντονομασία[ι], ἄρθρον, [ῥῆμα, πρόθεσι]ς, ἐπί[ρ]ρημα, σύνδε[σμο]ν.

<sup>10</sup> See *P.Yale* 1.25, 37-43 ἐπί[ρ]ρημα δ' ἐστὶν λέξι[ς] κατὰ μίαν ἐκφορὰν δ[η]λουμένη, προτακτικὴ ἢ ὑποτακτικὴ ῥήματος ἀσυν[θ]έτως σημαίνουσα ποσότητα ἢ ποιότητα ἢ χρόνον ἢ τόπον ἢ ἄρνησιν ἢ συνκατάθεσιν ἢ ἀπαγόρευσιν ἢ ἐπικέλευσιν ἢ ἐρώτησιν ἢ εὐχή[ν] ἢ παραβολήν ἢ διστα[σ]μόν.

<sup>11</sup> See *P.Heid.Siegmann* 197, 42-49 ἐπί[ρ]ρημα δὲ ἐστὶν λέξι[ς] κατὰ μίαν ἐκφορὰν δ[η]λουμένη, προτακτικὴ ἢ ὑποτακτικὴ ῥήματος [ἀκλίτως σημαίνουσα ποσότη]τη[τ]α ἢ [ποιότητα καὶ μεσότητα] ἢ χρόν[ον] ἢ τόπον ἢ ἄρνησιν ἢ ἐπικ[έ]λευσιν ἢ ἀπαγόρευσιν ἢ διστα[σ]μόν ἢ συγκατάθεσιν ἢ εὐχή[ν] ἢ παραβολήν.

<sup>12</sup> See *P.Harr.* 59, 31-42: [ἐπίρρημα δὲ ἐστὶν λέξεις π]ρο[τακτικὴ καὶ ὑποτακτικὴ] παν[τὸς] ῥήματος ἀκλίτως δ[η]λοῦσα [ποσότητα ἢ ποιότητα ἢ τ]όπον [ἢ χρόνον ἢ ἄρνησιν ἢ συ]γκατά[θεσιν ἢ ---] .τα [ἐ]πί[τασ]ιν [ --- ]... ἢ εὐχ[ή]ν ἢ --- ]... [ --- ]... [ --- ] ἢ σύγ[κρισι]ν ἢ ---].

<sup>13</sup> See *P.Ant.* II 68, 16-17 μέρη τοῦ λόγου [ὀ]κ[τ]ώ.

among the adverbs<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, the parts of speech are eight, according to the grammarian Dositheus Magister<sup>15</sup>, and the adverb is one of them.

In the study of the lexicographer Ammonius (I or II A.D.), *De adfinium vocabulorum differentia* (= Περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφορῶν λέξεων), the view that the adverb is non-inflected, and does not indicate a specific person, is illustrated<sup>16</sup>.

Following the work of Dionysius Thrax, the first comprehensive treatise on adverbs was written by Apollonius Dyscolus in the second century A.D., and was entitled *De adverbiiis*. In this study we read that adverbs are non-inflected words and that they modify verbs<sup>17</sup>. Obviously, this does not mean that any word which modifies the verb is an adverb, but that any word, which cannot be used otherwise within a sentence other than as complement of the verb, should be included in this category. Apollonius was the first grammarian that systematically dealt with syntax. His study on syntax in four books, entitled *De constructione orationis*, is his largest surviving work.

In addition, the grammarian Theodosius in the fourth or fifth century A.D. was the first to discuss a class of manner adverbs in his work Περὶ γραμματικῆς. All the adverbs are non-inflected words which complement the verb. Only three concepts can be denoted: manner, location and reference<sup>18</sup>. What is the adjective for the noun is also the adverb for the verb, and this is reflected on the very name of this part of speech, ἐπίρρημα<sup>19</sup>.

Of the grammars written after the seventh century A.D., the one written by the Patriarch of Constantinople Gennadius Scholarius in the fifteenth century is only discussed here. In a certain section, the adverbs are considered as verb-modifiers and are described as a non-inflected part of speech. This reminds us of the Roman and Byzantine grammarians who determined the same definition. However, it seems that Gennadius misunderstood the observation of Dionysius Thrax regarding the position of the adverb in the sentence with respect to the verb. Dionysius considered that the adverb may always precede or follow the

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<sup>14</sup> See *P.Ant.* II 68, 25-26 ἐπίρ` ρήμα [οἶον ---] σαφῶς α[ --- ].

<sup>15</sup> See Dosithe., *Ars grammatica* 14.3-5 λόγου μέρη εἰσὶν ὀκτώ, ὄνομα ἀντωνυμία ῥήμα μετοχή ἐπίρρημα πρόθεσις σύνδεσμος παρένθεσις· τισὶν δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ προσηγορία.

<sup>16</sup> See Ammon., *De adfinium vocabulorum differentia* 19 αἶθε καὶ ὄφελον διαφέρει. τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἀπαρέμφατον προσώπων· τὸ δ' ὄφελον ἐμφαίνει πρόσωπα, οἶον· ὄφελον ἐγώ, ὄφελος σύ, ὄφελον ἐκεῖνος. διὸ τὸ αἶθε ἐστὶν ἐπίρρημα, τὸ δ' ὄφελον ῥήμα.

<sup>17</sup> See A.D., *Adv.* 2.1,1.119.5-6 ἔστιν οὖν ἐπίρρημα μὲν λέξις ἄκλιτος, κατηγοροῦσα τῶν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐγκλίσεων καθόλου ἢ μερικῶς, ὧν ἄνευ οὐ κατακλείσει διάνοιαν.

<sup>18</sup> See Theodosius of Alexandria, *Grammatica* 87. 4-9 ἐπίρρημά ἐστι λέξις ἄκλιτος μετὰ τὸ ῥήμα ταττομένη καὶ τρόπον, ἢ τόπον ἢ σχέσιν δηλοῦσα, οἷον ἀναγινώσκω καλῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγινώσκω ῥημά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἐπίρρημα καὶ σημαίνει τρόπον, πῶς ἀναγινώσκω, τὸ δὲ οἶκαδε καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπίρρηματα τόπον ἢ σχέσιν δηλοῦνται.

<sup>19</sup> See Theodosius of Alexandria, *Grammatica* 19. 31-32 τὸ δὲ ἐπίρρημα δυνάμει μὲν ἐπίθετόν ἐστι τοῦ ῥήματος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τούτου δηλοῖ.



verb as an inner complement of a verb phrase. As it seems from the examples cited, Gennadius explained the function of the adverb placed next to a single verb as expressing the first element of the same verb when it is a compound<sup>20</sup>. He also defined four adverbial relations: the manner, the place, the time, and the reference. Moreover, he considered the existence of other concepts which could also be denoted<sup>21</sup>.

The manner in which the modern scholars of ancient Greek language considered the adverb did not differ much from that of the ancient ones. As its very name indicates in its syntactical role, an adverb was seen mainly as a complement of the verb. However, the study of adverbs became more systematic, and some other functions of its use in the speech emerged.

## 2. Views of the modern grammarians regarding adverbs

In many grammars of the Ancient Greek Language written from the 19th century onwards, one cannot trace information about adverbs<sup>22</sup>. For instance, in the grammar written by Meyer (1880), in which one would expect to read a chapter about the adverbs, there is no discussion about them. The other parts of speech receive more attention, because they are characterized by greater morphological plasticity, and probably because they can colour the meaning of a sentence and not only modify the verb.

However, in the work of Kühner, which is the most detailed modern account among the traditional grammars, adverbs are discussed extensively, although in some instances there is some confusion between adverbs and particles. In addition, there is no discussion about the adverbs in -ως. In his section on morphology, Kühner (1836, II 2, 247-253) is interested only in the composition of words with the first component being a preposition. He promised (*ibid.*, 247) he would address morphology of adverbs under the corresponding section in the volume of syntax. Kühner (1836, II 2, 113-223) extensively discussed the issues which are relevant to the syntax of the adverb. Already in other places, Kühner (1836, II 1, 52; 260; 269) had been

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<sup>20</sup> Similar cases of adverbs in the modern Greek language, which could be incorporated in the verb itself, are addressed in an article written by Rivero (1992).

<sup>21</sup> See Gennadius Scholarius, *Grammatica* 1.356.24-27 ἐπίρρημα δέ ἐστὶ μέρος λόγου ἄκλιτον μετὰ ῥήματος λεγόμενον ἢ ἐπιλεγόμενον ῥήματι, οἷον εὐπλοεῖ, ἢ πλέει εὐ, καὶ καλλιγραφεῖ, ἢ γράφει καλῶς. Ἔστι δὲ πᾶν ἐπίρρημα τρόπου, ἢ τόπου, ἢ χρόνου, ἢ σχέσεως, ἢ τινος τῶν τοιούτων σημαντικόν.

<sup>22</sup> Although Rutherford (1912) dedicated a chapter of his treatise on syntax to the study of the non-inflected parts of speech, he did not examine the syntax of adverbs. No information about the syntax of the adverbs can be found in the books on syntax by Gildersleeve (1900-1911) and Humbert (1960) either. Goodwin (1900, 190) just observed that adverbs derive from adjectives and nouns, and that they qualify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs (see Goodwin 1900, 264). The work on the syntax of the Ancient Greek Language by Cooper (1997 and 2002) is very useful in general, but its section on adverbs doesn't provide a new view on the matter other than that the adverbs modify verbs.

restricted to pointing out the possibility that the adverb modifies a noun, as in the phrase οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι. Regarding some examples, such as the phrase καλῶς γράφεις (*ibid.*, 52), he stated that the adverb determines the subject or the predicate of the subject of the verb, while in fact the modified term is simply the verb.

In the discussion about the adverbs Kühner (1836, II, 2, 113-114), citing Apollonius Dyscolus, pointed out the similarity between the relation of adjective and noun on the one hand, and the relation of adverb and verb on the other. He specified the possibility that the adverb also determines adjectives or other adverbs. The relations denoted in whatever case, according to Kühner (*ibid.*, 114), are the manner, the place, the time, the frequency and the intensity of an action. These relations can also be denoted by using equivalent expressions, such as adverbial participles, oblique cases of a noun, and prepositional structures. There are also adverbs which do not modify the predicate, but the entire statement<sup>23</sup> (modal adverbs, such as the confirmatory). Finally, an adverb can complement the verb replacing the subject, the object or an entire subordinate clause (*ibid.*, 114). Following the general discussion he addresses some examples of adverbs, which he considers to be the most important. Some of them, however, should be considered particles, such as γέ. Apart from these, the author mainly dealt with adverbs composed of a word and an inseparable particle, such as composite with the morphemes -περ and -θεν. No discussion can be found in his work about the adverbs ending in -ως.

In the epitome of Kühner's work in English (*An Elementary Grammar of the Greek Language*) the morphology and the meaning of adverbs were discussed in the fifth chapter of the section of etymology (Kühner 1857, 60-61). Adverbs are non-inflected words denoting place, time or manner. It is easy to observe that some subcategories which existed in the detailed grammar are omitted here. The derivation of the adverbs is done either by the addition of the suffix -ως to adjectives, or by inflection of the cases. In the last part of the first capital of the syntax (*ibid.*, 259-262) the function of the adverbs is examined. The adverbs denote the objective relations, which had already been mentioned under the corresponding section of the section of etymology. Here also, as in detailed grammar, the modal adverbs μή, οὐ, and words composite with them dominate the discussion. No mention is made here either of adverbs in -ως.

Schwyzler (1939, 617-633 and 1950, 412-417) also extensively discussed the formation of adverbs, dividing them into categories according to their derivation. His

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<sup>23</sup> The sentence adverbs or operators are discussed in note 24.

grammar should be considered to be the most concise among the traditional grammars. He classified the adverbs in *-ως* in the category of those which are derived from cases of pronouns and adjectives (see Schwyzer 1939, 623-624). He also considered that they are produced by the ablative case, the semantic value of which is maintained by them.

However, the section dedicated to the syntax of the adverbs, though not extensive, is nonetheless concise. He distinguished and examined separately adverbs in the strict sense, i.e. those words which can act as adverbials, and are non-inflected (see Schwyzer 1950, 412). The adverbs provide actual information, in contrast to the logical function of the particles, and they do not function as textual operators, like conjunctions (*ibid.*). The basic function of adverbs is to modify verbs, but they may have other functions as well: the formation of verbal phrases, the modification of adjectives and other adverbs, and the function as nouns, when accompanied by an article (*ibid.*, 413). However, the syntax of adverbs in *-ως* is not discussed separately.

A detailed Grammar, in which adverbs have been examined (although not in such detail as other parts of speech), was also written by Smyth. Contributing new information in reference to adverbs, he disagreed on some points with traditional grammars, while introducing new distinctions. According to Smyth, adverbs derived from the cases of nouns and adjectives. For example, adverbs in *-ως* did not derive from the genitive plural, as both ancient and modern grammarians thought, but from the ablative case (see Smyth 1920, 99-100). In addition, the ending of adverbs often reveals their meaning. Thus adverbs in *-ι, -θι, -σι, -δε, -ζε, and -σε* denote place, and adverbs in *-ως* denote manner (*ibid.*). Regarding the syntax Smyth (*ibid.*, 283-284) divided adverbs into two groups: (a) simple adverbs which denote manner, degree, place, time, and further relevant relations, which modify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs, and (b) sentential adverbs or particles, which modify an entire sentence or emphasize a specific word<sup>24</sup>. As equivalent syntactic structures he acknowledged

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<sup>24</sup> This distinction is quite different from that which was made by the ancient commentator of Dionysius Thrax; see *Comm. in D.T. Art. Gramm.* 96.4-96.8 «Καθόλου ἢ μερικῶς» καθόλου μὲν, ὡς τὸ καλῶς σοφῶς – πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ <πάσαις> ταῖς ἐγκλίσεσι συντάσσονται – μερικῶς δέ, ὡς τὰ χρονικά· τὸ γὰρ χθές οὔτε τοῖς ἐνεστώσιν οὔτε τοῖς μέλλουσι συντάσσεται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ μὴ τῇ ὀριστικῇ ἐγκλίσει, οὐδὲ ἢ οὐ ἀπόφασις προστακτικοῖς: Some adverbs can modify all verbal moods, while others can modify only some of them. In fact Smyth's distinction is more related to the distinction made in formal semantics between operators, or sentence modifiers, and predicate modifiers (see Cresswell 2006, 137 καὶ 141; see also Katz 2008, 221). About this distinction, which is one of the most important issues in the study of the adverbs, and which demonstrates the interface between semantics and syntax somebody could trace information in all modern works on the adverbs, e.g. in Ernst's study (2007, 1008-1009). An early reference to this phenomenon is made by Fijn van Draat (1921, 62). As Alexiadou (2013, 462) observed, this distinction is not sufficient as far as syntax is concerned, since there can be adverbs that modify only the verb, i.e. a portion smaller than the verb phrase, or portions larger than the verbal phrase, but smaller than the sentence.

the oblique cases, the prepositional structures, the participles, and the adverbial subordinate clauses (*ibid.*, 284).

The most recent of the grammars of classical Greek language, which are examined in this introduction, is that of Morwood, who agreed with Smyth on the formation of adverbs, but did not use the word *ablative* in his analysis. His discussion on adverbs is merely restricted to say that adverbs are usually derived by adding the suffix  $-\omega\varsigma$  to the stem of adjectives (see Morwood 2001, 45). He also mentioned other words with adverbial function, such as specific neutral adjectives (*ibid.*). He did not deal however with other derivational suffixes. As for the function of adverbs, one has to consult the glossary of his book (*ibid.*, viii), where the adverb is merely defined as a word that modifies the meaning of a verb, an adjective, or another adverb. In the Greek-English vocabulary at the end of his book we also find a specific use of adverbs. When an adverb is construed with the verb ἔχω, then the verb phrase is equal to the verb *to be* plus the corresponding to the adverb adjective as predicate of the subject of the verb (*ibid.*, 246).

Furthermore, some Greek language grammarians of the New Testament, a language very similar to the language of papyri (see Dickey 2009, 149), have discussed adverbs. In the grammar written by Blass and Debrunner (1896), and translated into English by Funk (1961, 55-57), adverbs are divided into four categories: These of manner, location, time, and correlative adverbs. In this section of the book, the differences in formation and frequency of use of certain adverbs between the classical Greek language and the language of the New Testament are viewed first and foremost. Funk did not explicitly state that all adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  denote manner, but he implied it, since adverbs with such a formation are not considered in other categories of meaning. Therefore, in this grammar it is also assumed that morphology affects semantics. Regarding the syntax of the adverbs (*ibid.*, 224-225), it was not even mentioned that they modify verbs, since it might have been considered obvious. The focus was on the use of the adverbs instead of adjectives or as predicates, and on their function in exclamations.

In the four-volume work by Moulton on the language of the New Testament, one may well draw on some information about adverbs. In the first volume (see Moulton 1906, 99-100), the Prolegomena, one reads about the possibility that adverbs function as complements of prepositions in prepositional structures. In the second volume (see Moulton 1963, vol. 2, 163-164), one of the issues examined is the morphology of the adverbs. The derivation of the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  was more common in the New Testament compared to earlier periods. The one third of the adverbs found there, ended in  $-\omega\varsigma$ . The ending can be attached to adjectives of all

declensions and in participles. In vernacular, however, there was a tendency to use the neutral accusative with adverbial meaning, because there was no phonetic difference between the morphemes -ως and -ος, and therefore avoiding confusions. Other endings, such as other cases operating as adverbials, can also be detected. The syntax of the adverbs (see Moulton 1963, vol. 3, 226) is not studied in detail. The only issues explored are the possibility of using an adverb as predicate, and the frequent use of adverbs near the verb ἔχω. In the last volume, in which the style is examined, adverbs are not at all dealt with as a whole. Very few cases, such as those of λοιπόν (see Moulton 1976, 13; 92; 104), of πολλά (*ibid.*, 13; 38; 92; 117) and of πάλιν (*ibid.*, 32), are exceptions.

The overview of the studies on the Greek language can come to an end with two books, that of Wackernagel (1905) and that of Horrocks (1997). In the former study, the absence of discussion about adverbs is reasonable and expected, since its main focus is on literature, and examines the language only occasionally. In the latter study, only occasional references to the phonology of adverbs in different dialects, such as the Boeotian and Lesbian (Horrocks 1997, 25) are made. It is also merely stated that the principle class of adverbs consists of those ending in -ως (*ibid.*, 298). Finally, the suffix -ως was replaced over the centuries by the suffix -α (*ibid.*, 442 and 464), which is the suffix of adverbs, as we know them today in the modern Greek language, but the suffix -ως did not completely disappear.

### **3.1. Views of the modern linguists regarding adverbs**

Modern linguists study the linguistic phenomena in a very different way. The discussions of linguists on adverbs usually have as a starting point either the syntax or the semantics (see Austin, Engelberg and Rauh 2013, 2). Some theoretical issues which arise constantly because of the interface between the two linguistic subdisciplines<sup>25</sup> (*ibid.*) are not discussed in this thesis. On the other hand, the aspects which shaped the approach that was employed on this study of adverbs in the papyri are presented below.

Chomsky (1966, 86) already in the grammar of *Port Royal* detected some efforts to formulate a theory similar to the theory of deep and surface structure. People seek to make their speech shorter, and so a relation that is depicted in the deep structure by a prepositional structure may appear in the surface structure as an adverb derived by the noun, which

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<sup>25</sup> According to Costa (2004, 712) for instance there are information about the meaning, the formation and the category of adverbs, which are integrated into the adverbs themselves and, thereupon their syntax is determined. In all the studies dealing with adverbs interface issues arise.

complemented the preposition in the corresponding prepositional phrase<sup>26</sup> (*ibid.*, 86 and 88). Therefore, adverbs are not grammatical categories that can occur in deep structure (*ibid.*, 88), but only in the surface structure. The views of two philosophers, which agree with the grammar of Port Royal, are also provided by Chomsky (*ibid.*). Du Marsais (*non vidi*; cited with reference to Chomsky, *ibid.*, 88) thought that adverbs are simply words that make the speech shorter, and Beauzée (*non vidi*; cited with reference to Chomsky, *ibid.*, 88) thought that adverbs and their corresponding prepositional structures have the same meaning, but differ in some supplementary connotations associated with them. That is, the adverb indicates a recurring action or situation, while the prepositional structure indicates an action that does not recur. Therefore, if one takes these data into account, it is pointless to examine the adverbs as a grammatical category from the syntactic, and perhaps from the semantic, point of view, but should be viewed instead within the broader category of adverbial modifiers. One should not speak, that is to say, about adverbs when doing syntax, but about adverbial modifiers in general.

This view reflects on Payne (1997, 69), which defines the adverbs as a *catch-all category*<sup>27</sup>; whatever is not a verb, noun or adjective can be considered as an adverb<sup>28</sup>. Adverbs always derive from other words in different ways, and are divided into four categories: those of location, time, place, and evidence (*ibid.*, 69-70). They usually modify whole sentences, and not smaller phrases (*ibid.*, 69).

However, Pinker (1994, 473) in the glossary of his book identifies adverbs as one of the minor syntactic categories, and acknowledges only two adverbial relations that may be denoted by them: manner and time. Recognizing them as syntactic categories, one could assume that he doesn't adopt, as a whole at least, the view that adverbs merely abbreviate discourse<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> This approach has an advantage, which is related to the semantics: it makes the, otherwise non-truth-conditional, adverbs verifiable by the truth conditions (see Lycan, 2000, 122). On the other hand however, it makes the syntax overly complicated, with all these transformations that requires (*ibid.*). Somebody can read also in the studies of Katz (2008, 220) and Eszes (2009, 269) about the semantic resolution of an adverb to the corresponding adjective. The semantics of the adverbs are explored in detail in the fifth chapter of the book *Modification* by Morzycki (forthcoming). However, the semantics of the temporal adverbs are among the phenomena that were set aside in his research.

<sup>27</sup> The term *rag-bag category* used by Hasselgard (2010, 3) encapsulates this view about adverbs. Hasselgard (*ibid.*) however disagrees with this view.

<sup>28</sup> Payne (*ibid.*) separates the adverbs from the particles though. He also doesn't expressly agree with this view, but merely points out that it prevails.

<sup>29</sup> As it was formulated by Du Marsais (*non vidi*; cited with reference to Chomsky, *ibid.*, 88).

According to Jacobson (1980, 140), contextual information is necessary for the understanding of both the meaning and the syntactical role of the adverbs. It is therefore necessary to know the context, in order to study an adverb within a given proposition.

The position of the adverb with respect to the verb of the sentence is a matter of great concern for linguistic research, as it may be easily understood from studies, which deal with syntax in general, and studies, which deal specifically with the adverbs. With this view as a starting point, Lasnik and Hendrick (2003, 129-131) examine the position of the adverbs, in an attempt to identify structural relations that are formed between them and the other structural components of the sentence. Carnie (2002, 50) points out that the adverb can be located anywhere in the phrase structure, except for two positions: between a determiner and a noun, and after the verb *to be*. It is the head of an adverbial phrase, which is at the same level, and defines the verb, that is to say, it should be viewed inside the verb phrase, as can be deduced from the syntactic trees listed by Carnie (*ibid.*, 80-82), on the occasion of the discussion which he makes about the verb phrase. The branch of the adverbial phrase is located either to the right or to the left of the verb (*ibid.*, 81).

The adverb is the “innermost complement” of a verb according to Larson (1988, 345-346, note 11), who cited McConnell-Ginet (1982, 163 ff.). Therefore, in the syntactic tree of a sentence, the branch which represents the adverb should be at the same level as the verb of the sentence. Thus, the verb and the adverb are placed within the same node in the syntactic tree. By the word *adverb* of course, Larson refers to all the adverbial modifiers. Moreover, he is only interested in the deep structure. This observation is reproduced and checked by Chomsky (1995, 63-64). Stainton (1996, 14) puts the adverb directly into the verb phrase, that is, without the mediation of an adverbial phrase, of which the adverb would be the head.

Alexiadou’s contribution (2013, 458-484) in the handbook about syntax that was edited by den Dikken (2013) is particularly instructive, since all the theories that have been occasionally proposed are discussed. The general view held, that adverbs are of particular complexity and have not been studied as much as other parts of speech, were already marked (see Alexiadou 1997, 1 and 2013, 458). There is a common pattern between the adverbs and the adjectives, because the adverbs derive from the adjectives. Their relation towards the verbs is the same as the relation of the adjectives to the nouns<sup>30</sup> (see Alexiadou 2013, 460). The variety of functions of the adverbs, and of their position in the phrase structure with respect to the verb or the verb phrase, led to diverse ways of distinguishing them. Depending

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<sup>30</sup> This observation is reminiscent of the view of the ancient grammarian Theodosius, that what is the adjective for the noun is the adverb for the verb (see above, p. 5).

on the extent of the section of the sentence which is modified or the semantic or pragmatic function that it triggers or strengthens, the syntactic location of the adverb can be determined (*ibid.*, 461-463). The segments of the sentence that can be modified are the verb, the verb phrase, a portion larger than the verb phrase but smaller than the sentence, and, finally, the sentence itself (*ibid.*, 462).

### **3.2. Temporal adverbs on some modern linguistic theories**

Since this thesis is concerned in adverbs which denote time<sup>31</sup>, it is necessary to summarize some modern views concerning these adverbs. The timing of an event may be described by using noun phrases, by the tenses of the verbs, by temporal subordinate clauses, by adverbs and adjectives, and by certain verbs or nouns (see Haspelmath 1997, 6). Namely time is denoted by virtually all the grammatical categories that language provides.

Eszes (2009, 271) examined the adverb *quickly*, and observes that, contrary to the prevailing view, it does not necessarily indicate pure manner, but rather, it should be considered as a *functional adverb of time*. Of course, it does not fit in the same category as other adverbs which have similar temporal function, such as *immediately* and *soon*, because they can not have a pure manner meaning (*ibid.*). Regarding the examination of this adverb from the semantic point of view, it is easily observed that it can not be resolved by means of the corresponding adjective (*ibid.*, 271-272). The location of the adverb within the phrase structure determines its meaning. Only if the adverb precedes the verb, does it have temporal meaning, as is evident by the table in Eszes' article (*ibid.*, 277), where the interpretation of the adverb as time denoting is referred to as *aspectual reading*.

### **3.3. Modern studies on temporal adverbs in ancient Greek**

In some articles specific issues relating to particular adverbs in ancient Greek are addressed. Yamuza (2000) considered adverbs *τάχα* and *ἵσως* as satellites of subjective and objective modality in combination with all possible moods and tenses, with which these can be construed (*ibid.*, 238-246), and concluded, among other issues, that through them, when they act as objective satellites, the knowledge of the speaker about the actuality of a given state of affairs is expressed (*ibid.*, 247). Although *τάχα* derived from a word meaning *quickly*,

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<sup>31</sup> A detailed presentation of the book of Haspelmath (1997), in which the adverbials of time are discussed extensively, is avoided here, because what is examined in this thesis is the use of manner adverbs with temporal connotations.



according to Yamuza, it has the notion of manner. That meaning is lost, since the final adverb functions as a modality satellite (*ibid.*, 238).

In his book about the expressions of time in ancient Greek, Coulter (2014) was mainly interested in the use of those expressions in literary texts. However, he dedicated a section of his book to the study of some expressions of time in the papyri (see Coulter 2014, 230-244). What is examined there is the use of structures involving nouns which describe time periods, such as day, night, month, and year. The papyrical texts cited in this study are usually formal agreements between individuals. The adverbs in -ως were not considered as possible time-denoting modifiers by the author of this book, since they were not discussed as such.

Decker (1997, 90) explored the meaning and use of the adverb εὐθύς in the Gospel of Mark, in order to demonstrate that the range of its meanings has not been taken into account in the English translations of this Gospel. When the adverb is found alone, its function is adverbial, and εὐθύς denotes rapidity or brevity (*ibid.*, 109-111 and 119). However, when it is combined with the conjunction καί, to form the phrase καί εὐθύς, the adverb can function either as an adverbial or as a conjunction (*ibid.*, 111-116 and 119). The possibility of using the adverb εὐθύς, and the adverb εὐθέως, as part of a conjunction in the papyri is examined by Litinas (2004, 285-287 and 2013, 309), whose conclusions were supported by Cuvigny (2012, 97-99). In the above cases the adverbs discussed should be regarded as sentence operators. If a subordinate temporal clause follows, the adverbs are not on the same syntactic layer, nor do they introduce the clause. Instead, they modify the entire main clause that governs the subordinate one.

The existing studies on the language of the papyri have been listed by Dickey (2009, 166). Two more studies, none of which provides information about the use of the adverbs in the papyri must be added to these: Zilliaccus' study (1943) on the language of family letters of the third century A.D., and the collective volume on the language of the papyri edited by Evans and Obbink (2010).

Finally, a brief examination of one of the two available grammars for the Greek language of the papyri should be made. Neither of the two volumes of Gignac's Grammar (*Gram.*) about the language of the papyri from the Roman and Byzantine periods contains any discussion on adverbs. One would expect to read something on adverbs in the second volume, pertaining to morphology. On the contrary, only the conjugation of verbs and the declension of nouns and adjectives are examined there.

On the other hand, Mayser included in his Grammar of the language of the Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic period (*Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*

mit Einschlüss der Gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten Verfassten Inschriften) an extensive debate about adverbs. In the first volume of his work, where he deals with phonology and morphology, he described how adverbs are formed, listing all the derivational suffixes that can produce an adverb, and the adverbs themselves (see Mayser, *Gram.* I, 455-459). This list is supplemented with more adverbs in the second part of the second volume of his work (see Mayser, *Gram.* II 2, 175-178). According to Mayser, morphology affects semantics, since the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , which were the most numerous in the papyri of that period (see Mayser, *Gram.* I, 459) are classified as ones that denote manner in his work (*ibid.*, 457 and Mayser, *Gram.* II 2, 176). Regarding the use of the the adverbs Mayser (*Gram.* II 2, 179) observed that it does not differ from the use made by the authors of the classical period, because adverbs mainly modify verbs. Of course, it is possible that they are close to copular verbs, either taking the position of the corresponding adjective, or when copular verbs have the meaning of a regular verb (*ibid.*). The normal position of the adverbs is before the modified constituent, but in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, adverbs which are placed after the modified constituent can be found (*ibid.*, 180-181). The scribes preferred to place the adverb after the verbal form, in cases where emphasis was needed, that is, when they used imperative mood (*ibid.*, 181). In this category belong the adverbs of time (*ibid.*), as well as the adverbs of manner (*ibid.*, 183), which indicate urgency and haste. Included are any adverbs that the rhythm or the style dictated to be placed after the modified constituent. The adverbs of place, and most adverbs of manner, were placed before the modified constituent, but, as noted by Mayser (*ibid.*, 184), there are no uniform rules that apply to all the adverbs.

#### **4. Methodological tools**

This thesis examines the syntax, the meaning and the use of adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  that denote time in one way or another, and can be found in a certain type of Greek papyri, namely in private letters. These three central elements of this study correspond to the three dimensions of semiotics, as they were defined by Morris (1938, 13-42). Syntax describes the relations between the signs themselves, semantics describes the relations of signs with the objects which they refer to, and pragmatics describes the relations of signs with the people who use them (*ibid.*; see also Recanati 2004, 443-444; Horn 1988, 116; Decker 1997, 95). Regarding syntax, the present study mainly detects the location of each adverb in the surface structure, and regarding the semantics, the meanings of adverbs are examined. However, the main interest of this thesis is to explore how adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , which are believed to denote manner, provide information about the time an event took place. The addressed adverbs are divided

into two groups: (a) Those where the notion of time is relatively obvious, and (b) those where a rationale is required, so that the notion of time within their meaning is understood. The issues of interface between semantics and pragmatics, as described by Huang (2007, 211-216 and 219-225), are taken into account, but due to the extensiveness of such a study, an opinion here is not formulated. Finally, only the private letters are examined because the language of such documents resembles the vernacular, where accuracy in meaning is not as necessary as in official or legal documents. Thereby, an insight about ordinary people and the society of that particular time as a whole can be formulated; one can better understand matters of importance, their thoughts on time, and how they expressed themselves about matters related to time.

The discussion for each adverb includes a reference to its lexical meaning, the determination of its location in the clause with respect to the verb, and the consideration of information of the broader context, which can contribute to the understanding of its use, and the reasons for its particular use. Also examined are any subordinate clauses that assist the reader in understanding its meaning. Where appropriate to illustrate the level of literacy of the scribe, references to the use of adverbs taken from literary texts are used.

In order to identify the meanings of the words, both the printed (see Liddell, Scott, Jones and McKenzie, LSJ<sup>9</sup>) and the online version of LSJ<sup>32</sup> were used. In order to detect and quote the passages from the papyri, the online databases *Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri*<sup>33</sup> (DDbDP), *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens*<sup>34</sup> (HGV) and *Trismegistos*<sup>35</sup> were used. In order to compare various handwritings, I consulted the online database *PapPal*<sup>36</sup>. In order to detect and quote passages from inscriptions, the online database *Searchable Greek Inscriptions*<sup>37</sup> of the *Packard Humanities Institute* was used. Finally, in order to detect and quote passages from the literary texts, the online database *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*<sup>38</sup> (TLG) was used. For a list of abbreviations of both the editions, of papyri and ostraca, and the instrumenta, such as grammars, somebody

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<sup>32</sup> <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/>.

<sup>33</sup> <http://papyri.info/>.

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/>.

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.trismegistos.org/>.

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.pappal.info/>.

<sup>37</sup> <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>.

<sup>38</sup> <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/inst/fontsel>.

should consult the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*<sup>39</sup> provided by the library of the *Duke University*.

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<sup>39</sup> [http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist\\_papyri.html](http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist_papyri.html) for the editions of papyri and ostraca, and [http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist\\_instrumenta.html](http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist_instrumenta.html) for the instrumenta.

## Part one: Adverbs in -ως with direct temporal connotations in the private letters

### Ἀκαίρως

It is used to indicate an “ill-timed, unseasonable” action in private letters. In *CPR* XXV 18, 2 (VI-VII A.D.) ἐπὶ (l. ἐπεὶ) ἀκέρως (l. ἀκαίρως) ἀφορμάδετε (l. ἀφορμάζετε), it modifies and precedes the verb ἀφορμάζετε. In *SPP* XX 223, 2 (middle VII A.D.) ἵνα μάθη ἡ κύρα μου ὅτι οὐ πέμπ[ω] εἰ[ς] Βαβυλωνι ἀκαίρω[ς], it modifies and follows the verb πέμπω. On the other hand, in *SB* X 10525, 7 (VI-VII A.D.) μὴ ἀπολέσω ἡμέ[ρ]ας | ἀκα[ί]ρως the adverb is used as a conditional or causal, that is “I will loose my days upon it, if/because the action is ill-timed”. Therefore, it does not modify the verb ἀπολέσω. This use is different from Eur. *Hel.* 1081 ἐς καιρὸν ἦλθε, τότε δ’ ἄκαιρ’ ἀπόλλυτο, where the adverb ἄκαιρα modifies the verb ἀπόλλυτο. Finally, *PSI* VI 662, 3 (middle III B.C.), a private letter, is fragmentary and the modified constituent is not preserved. The adverb also occurs in some Byzantine documents, e.g. a petition and a dialysis (*P.Lond.* III 1073, 1; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 19).

### Ἄνυπερθέτως

It is used in a large number of formal documents, such as loans and leases; it forms part of the penalty clauses, that someone should not delay a certain payment<sup>40</sup>. On the other hand, the adverb is used in the private letters with verbs such as ποιῶ and πέμπω, without any legal colour, but only to indicate the immediate accomplishment of an action. In *SB* XIV 11584, 9-10 (late II A.D.) περὶ οὗ σοι χρεία ἐστὶν ἐπίστελλέ μοι | [ε]ιδὼς ὅτι ποιήσω ἀνυπερθέτως (cf. βραδέως) the sender of the letter explains to the recipient the reasons for which he delayed to send him a letter, and gives him advice on how they should keep in touch in order to strengthen their friendship. The adverb follows the verbal form, which is a future indicative. In *P.Heid.* II 215, 6-9 (middle III A.D.) πέμψις δὲ ἀνυπερθέτως ὄν[ον] | καὶ σάκκον καὶ Πακῦσιν διὰ | νυκτός, ἵνα τὴν αὐτὴν κατέλθῃ ὑπὸ σῆτον, the adverb follows the verbal form, which is in aorist subjunctive (instead of the imperative). The sender asks the recipient of the letter to send a man, named Pakysis, a donkey, and a sack in which an amount of wheat would be put. A temporal prepositional διὰ νυκτός also follows, since everything should be sent immediately by night. Neither of the adverbials is redundant, because, on the one hand, ἀνυπερθέτως specifies the time that Pakysis and the donkey should be sent, that is

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<sup>40</sup> *O.Claud.* III 590 is certainly not a private letter, but probably a receipt.

by the time the recipient receives the letter, and on the other, διὰ νυκτός specifies the time that the journey of Pakysis should take place, that is during the night. Pakysis should be sent back immediately after he loads the wheat, so as to arrive to his destination in the same day (τὴν αὐτήν). The subordinate clause of purpose that follows, explains the reason of this haste; Pakysis should leave immediately from the city (probably, Arsinoe) to the village Tebtynis<sup>41</sup>.

### Ἄρτίως

The adverb in the sense of “just, newly” (see LSJ s.v. ἄρτιος III) is usually attested in a variety of formal documents of the Roman (but only in a couple of instances) and, mainly, of the Byzantine period, e.g. petitions, receipts, imperial rescripts, official announcements, transfers of taxation, wills, a marriage agreement, contracts of divorce, leases, sales of land, an acknowledgement of debt, a register of contracts, settlements made out of court, donations to a monastery, deeds of surety, documents containing court proceedings, and announcements about land exchange. *P.Haun.* III 52, *P.Lond.* IV 1349 and *UPZ* I 110 are official letters. In almost all cases the adverb is placed before the verb<sup>42</sup>. The adverb ἄρτίως is only attested in two private letters: in *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 24, 27-31 ὁ Δημήτριος σὺν ἄρτίως μοι μ[ε]τέδωκεν ἐξέρχεσθαι | ἐατὸν καὶ ἐμεμψάμην αὐτὸν ὅτι μοι το|σαύταις ἡμέραις οὐκ ὄπται καὶ ἔφη περισπᾶσθ[α]ι περὶ ἀργυρωματίων σὺν Κέρτῳ (A.D. 117) it precedes and modifies the second aorist indicative μετέδωκεν. In *P.Rain.Cent.* 74, 2-3 (V A.D.) γινώσκειν θέλομεν τὴν ὑμετέραν λαμ[π]ρότητα ὅ[τι] ἄρτ[ί]ως μεμαθήκαμεν | ἐνταῦθα ὡς ὅτι ἔφθασεν τὰ αὐτόθι ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος Ἰωάννης, it precedes and modifies the past perfect indicative μεμαθήκαμεν, although the reading is uncertain.

### Εὐθέως

The sender of a private letter could indicate the concept of rapidity by using the adverb εὐθέως. This adverb is attested 162 times in the private letters<sup>43</sup>. It is also attested 32

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<sup>41</sup> This situation should be understood so, because in the previous lines the scribe says that the receiver of the letters should come back (πάντως ἄνελθε... ἀνερχόμενος), that is come from the village Tebtynis to the city Arsinoe; for the use of the verb ἀνερχομαι see Youtie (1948, 15). Thus the sender is in the city and the receiver in the village. The official document on the front side of the papyrus was submitted in Arsinoe, and probably was a copy or a draft, which was not in use any more and its back side was reused for the private letter to be sent to Tebtynis.

<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, the synonym ἄρτι is attested in private letters of all periods, but mainly Roman, and is placed both before and after the verbal form.

<sup>43</sup> It is also found in a number of official letters, which I have divided into three groups: (i) The official letters which begin with the χαιρεῖν-greeting formula or are fragmentary or the beginning of the letter is lost. There are 38 instances of the adverb in 33 papyri, which belong to that group (*BGU* XV 2467, 10; *CPR* XXX 8, 6; *CPR* XXX 13, 6; 7; 8; 10; *CPR* XXX 25, 3; *CPR* XXX 26, 2; *CPR* XXX 27, 4; *O.Krok.* I 61, 8; *O.Krok.* I 65,

times in 25 business letters<sup>44</sup>, nine times in eight letters which could be classified either as private or official<sup>45</sup>, three times in letters that could be classified either as business ones or

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8; *P.Apoll.* 13, 2; *P.Apoll.* 16, 2; *P.Apoll.* 18, 9; *P.Apoll.* 25, 1; *P.Apoll.* 26, 14; *P.Apoll.* 27, 10; *P.Apoll.* 30, 4; *P.Apoll.* 32, 9 and 14; *P.Lille* I 3, 4; *P.Lond.* IV 1346, 12; *P.Lond.* IV 1353, 20; *P.Lond.* IV 1357, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1370, 7; *P.Lond.* 4 1394, 10; *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2561, 19; *P.Sijp.* 24 c, 3; *P.Tebt.* III .1 729, 7; *P.Wisc.* II 55, 2; *SB X* 10252, 7; *SB X* 10459, 7; *SB XIV* 12144, 2; *SPP X* 128, 3; *SPP XX* 6, FrA, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1348, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1365, 2). (ii) Official letters which begin with the χαίρειν-greeting formula. The adverb εὐθέως is attested 30 times in the 28 documents of this group (*O.Claud.* IV 880, 5; *BGU XVI* 2631, 7; *BGU XVI* 2653, 6; *CPR XXX* 6, 8; *O.Claud.* II 360, 4; *O.Claud.* II 380, 9; *O.Claud.* IV 892, 3; *O.Krok.* I 41, 69; *O.Krok.* I 44, 14; *O.Krok.* I 87, 105; 116; 120; *P.Abinn.* 29, 6; *P.Brem.* 12, 22; *P.Brem.* 13, 13; *P.Brem.* 16, 10; *P.Brem.* 20, 9; *P.Meyer* 3, 16; *P.Oxy.* II 291, 5; *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2183, 9; *P.Ryl.* II 78, 26-27; *P.Ryl.* IV 572, 62; *P.Sorb.* III 84, 3; *P.Strasb.* IV 178, 9; *P.Tebt.* I 38, 16; *P.Tebt.* III .2 941, 16; *SB XII* 10846, 9; *SB XXVI* 16350, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1348, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1365, 2). Finally, (iii) documents, that are simply classified as letters, but, in fact, they are part of official correspondence. The adverb occurs ten times in the nine letters of this group (*P.Flor.* II 125, 5; *P.Flor.* II 138, 2; *P.Flor.* II 131, 11; *P.Flor.* II 142, 10; *P.Flor.* II 148, 11; *P.Laur.* IV 192, 13; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 9, 7; *P.Ross.Georg.* V 10, 1; *P.Ryl.* II 81, 15 and 28). Two official summonings (*CPR XVII A* 36, 14 and *CPR XXX* 15, 6) should be added to the official letters. A copy of a letter (*P.Fam. Tebt.* 15, 121), that was presumably presented before the court, should also be added to this list. These make a total of 81 instances in 73 papyri. Two documents were excluded from these lists, *P.Lond.* IV 1336 and *P.Ness.* 71. In *P.Lond.* IV 1336, 12 the adverb was supplemented *exempli gratia*, so this case could not be considered in our discussion. *P.Ness.* 71, 8 could belong to another type of documents, and it is not certain if it is a letter. The adverb is also found 97 times in 88 other formal documents. Namely, it is found in three contracts of lease (*BGU* IV 1123, 7; *W.Chr.* 1, 4, 20; *P.Kron.* 38, 20-21), in one document where the conditions for the return of seized property are stated (*BGU* IV 1158, 5), in one royal decree (*BGU* VI 1211, 10), in six documents containing minutes of court proceedings (*M.Chr.* 80, 10; *M.Chr.* 88, column v, 24; *P.Fam. Tebt.* 24, 96 and *SB IV* 7404, 55; *P.Oxy.* XII 1420, 7; *P.Oxy.* XXII 2339, 9; *P.Princ.* II 16, 13), in one collection of official deeds (*W.Chr.* 281, 24), in two contracts of sale (*CPR* I 119, 13; *SB XXVI* 16830, 26-27), in 17 petitions (*P.Abinn.* 33, 13; *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67002, 2, 23; *P.Coll.* *Youtie* I 12, 8; *P.Diog.* 17, 20; *P.Phrur. Diosk.* 1, 16; *P.Flor.* I 6, 7; *P.Gen.* II 103 Kol. I, 13; *P.Heid.* VI 376, 5 and 8; *P.Mich.* IX 527, 12; *P.Mich.* XVIII 787, 71; *P.Oxy.* II 237, 8, 16; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1119, 7; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2997, 8-9; *P.Tebt.* I 39, 10; *P.Tebt.* III .2 952, 24; *P.Wisc.* I 32, 10; *PSI XV* 1529, 10), in one draft of a document or a note (*P.Ammon* II 49, fragment b, 3), in six documents containing orders (*P.Apoll.* 12, 5; *SB VI* 9073, 4; *P.Strasb.* V 342, 13; *PSI V* 460, 9; *O.Theb.* 134, 2; *SB XXVI* 16482, 2), in four contracts of loan (*P.Brem.* 68, 7; *P.Flor.* I 1, 7; *P.Flor.* I 81, 10; *P.Strasb.* I 52, 7), in one will (*P.Cair. Masp.* II 67151, ms, 104), in one memorandum (*P.Cair.Zen* III 59446, 10), in one request for waiver of liturgies (*P.Flor.* III 382, 50), in seven oaths on undertaking service (*P.Harr.* II 193, 13; *P.Leit.* 12, 15; *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3091, 15; *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3097, 16-17; *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3132, 12; *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3344, 8; *P.Oxy.* LIX 3976, 8), in two official confirmations (*P.Lond.* III 774, 15; *P.Lond.* III 776, 13), in one arbitration (*P.Lond.* V 1708, 43 and 90), in 23 receipts (*P.Med.* I 64, 7; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1899, 13; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1900, 17; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1982, 14; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1985, 14; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1987, 18; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1988, 21; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1990, 22; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1991, 26; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2724, 12; *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2779, 13; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4781, 12; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4782, 7; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785, 17; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4788, 15; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4797, 10; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4798, 12; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4799, 17; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4800, 5; *SB XXII* 15364, 22; *P.Select* 20, 11; *PSI* I 60, 18; *SB XII* 11231, 9), in one document about the repair of a waterwheel (*P.Oxy.* I 137, 17), in one report of proceedings of the senate (*P.Oxy.* XII 1413, 31), in *P.Panop. Beatty* 2, 7; 63; 88; 105; 154; 272; 304 (in some of these cases it is partly restored), in two official requests (*P.Ross.Georg.* II 22, 11; *SB XIV* 11917, 7), in one commission (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 7, 2), in one deed of surety (*PSI XIII* 1329, 8), in one contract of apprenticeship (*SB VI* 9374, 28), in one reminder about the realization of a prepaid sale of juice (*SB XX* 14219, 2 and 4), in one, most probably official, report (*BGU* III 728, 9), and in one document concerning the transportation of stones (*SB XVI* 12359, 1). The data suggest that the adverb was part of both the formal and the informal vocabulary, i.e. the use of it was acceptable in any circumstances.

<sup>44</sup> *P.Amh.* II 153, 16; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59129, 16; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 3; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3873, 2 and 5; *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5179, 7; *P.Phil.* 32, 13; *P.Strasb.* IV 193, 4 and 12-13; *SB XIV* 12176, 1; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59191, 15-16; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59196, 4; *P.Petr.* II 23 (1), 14; *SB XXVI* 16563, 12; *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 61, 4; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 5 and 15; *P.Strasb.* VII 652, 68; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 57, 2; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59155, 3 and 5; *P.Laur.* IV 187, 3 and 20-21; *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14; *PSI VIII* 970, 3; *P.Gen.* IV 168, 30; *P.Petr.* II 13, fr. 3, r, 7 and Fr18a, 16; *SB VI* 9285, 11; *SB XII* 10918, 11-12 and 14-15.

<sup>45</sup> *P.Tebt.* III .2 947, 5; *P.Haun.* II 38, 9; *P.Ness.* 75, 6; *P.Warr.* 17, 9; *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1 and 4; *P.Lond.* III 1041, 3; *P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14; *P.Fuad I Univ.* 10, 15.

official<sup>46</sup>, and eleven times in documents which are simply classified as letters<sup>47</sup>. All these make a total of 217 occurrences of the adverb in any kind of correspondence. Most of the instances (146<sup>48</sup>) are dated to the Roman period. Considerably less (45 instances<sup>49</sup>) are dated

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<sup>46</sup> *P.Tebt.* III 2945, 12; *PSI* V 514, 8; *CPR* XXIV 31, 7.

<sup>47</sup> *PUG* II 85, 6; *PSI* VI 557, 2; *P.Col.* IV 114 f, fr. 1, 4; *SB* IV 7478, 9; *O.Flor.* 12, 4; *P.Bingen* 121, 12; II 59204, 5; *O.Leid.* 329, 3; *P.Laur.* II 39, 8; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 19; *SB* III 7036, 2.

<sup>48</sup> *BGU* XVI 2636, 7 (c. 21 B.C. - A.D. 5); *BGU* XVI 2641, 4 (10-9 B.C.); *P.Strasb.* VI 581, 2, 10 (9 B.C.); *P.Bas.* 18, 7 and 10 (late I B.C.-I A.D.); *P.Amst.* I 89, 5 (A.D. 3); *P.Sel. Warga* 13, 4 (A.D. 6); *P.Oxy.* IV 839, 6/00 (early I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* X 1291, 5 (A.D. 30); *P.Ryl.* II 229, 9 (A.D. 38); *P.Ryl.* II 230, 10 (A.D. 40); *P.Berl. Möller* 9, 3 (A.D. 45); *P.Col.* VIII 212, 3 (A.D. 49); *BGU* I 249, 6 and 11 (c. A.D. 75-85); *O.Did.* 343, 7 (before c. A.D. 77-92); *O.Did.* 325, 5 (before c. A.D. 77-92); *BGU* III 844, 4 (A.D. 83); *P.Lond.* III 897, 5; 14; 23 (A.D. 84); *P.Sarap.* 84 a, r, 2, 10 (A.D. 90-133); *P.Phil.* 32, 13 (late I A.D.); *P.Mil. Vogl.* VI 279, 9 (late I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14 (late I A.D.); *P.Harr.* II 222, 4 (I A.D.); *P.Köln* I 56, 5 (I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* II 298, 17 (I A.D.); *P.Princ.* III 187, 13 (I A.D.); *SB* VI 9121, 2; 3; 10 (I A.D.); *O.Leid.* 330, 8 (I-II A.D.); *SB* VIII 9644, 9 (I-II A.D.); *SB* VIII 9645, 7 (I-II A.D.); *SB* X 10529, FrB, 6 (I-II A.D.); *P.Heid.* II 211, 3 (I-II A.D.); *P.Fay.* 120, 9 (c. A.D. 100); *P.Fay.* 119, 34 (c. A.D. 103); *P.Coll.Youtie* I 54, 9 (A.D. 104); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1155, 4-5 (A.D. 104); *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 33; 38; 40 (A.D. 107); *O.Did.* 434, 4 (before c. A.D. 110-115); *P.Alex.Giss.* 44, 4 (c. A.D. 113-120); *P.Alex.Giss.* 48, 6 (c. A.D. 113-120); *O.Claud.* II 290, 6 (c. A.D. 114); *O.Did.* 389, 4 (before c. A.D. 115-120); *P.Giss.* I 70, 5 (after A.D. 117); *P.Louvre* II 99, 24 (early II A.D.); *O.Claud.* I 174, 12 (early II A.D.); *P.Laur.* II 39, 8 (early II A.D.); *O.Did.* 445, 16 (before c. A.D. 125-140); *P.Strasb.* IV 193, 4 and 12-13 (A.D. 128); *P.Oxy.* LXXVI 5100, 17 (c. A.D. 136); *P.Strasb.* VII 652, 68 (c. A.D. 136-141); *P.Bour.* 23, 11 (c. A.D. 140-144); *P.Mil. Vogl.* IV 218, 5-6 (first half of II A.D.); *PSI* XII 1241, 28-29 (159 A.D.); *O.Flor.* 12, 4 (middle - late II A.D.); *O.Flor.* 17, 6 (middle - late II A.D.); *SB* XIV 12176, 1 (late II A.D.); *P.Mert.* II 83, 20 (late II A.D.); *PSI* XV 1540, 2 (late II A.D.); *P.Freib.* IV 64, 5 and 16 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 488, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* III 532, 12 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 11 and 17 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3989, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5179, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Sel. Warga* 12, 8 (II A.D.); *SB* III 6299, 2 (II A.D.); *P.Mil. Vogl.* IV 219, 3 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 21 (II A.D.); *BGU* III 821, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* III 206, 19-20 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 10 and 19 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 490, 12 (II A.D.); *P.Mil. Vogl.* II 61, 4 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2981, 10 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3313, 4 (II A.D.); *P.Tebt.* II 413, 4 (II A.D.); *SB* VIII 9826, 10 (II A.D.); *W.Chr.* 480, 8 (II A.D.); *P.Laur.* IV 187, 3 and 20-21 (II A.D.); *P.Lund.* II 2, 3 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3988, 3-4 (II A.D.); *PSI* VII 822, 13 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 497, 11 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 19 (II A.D.); *P.Strasb.* V 346, 5 (II A.D.); *P.Warr.* 14, 31 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* III 530, 30 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XII 1585, 8 (late II - early III A.D.); *P.Hamb.* I 54, r, 1, 14-15 (late II - early III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* III 533, 5 (late II - early III A.D.); *P.Dub.* 15, 22 (II-III A.D.); *P.Köln* II 107, 4 (II-III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 11 and 22 (II-III A.D.); *O.Leid.* 329, 3 (II-III A.D.); *SB* XIV 12026, 6 (II-III A.D.); *PSI* VII 821, 2 (II-III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXXVII 5112, 3 (c. A.D. 212-246); *P.Fuad I Univ.* 10, 15 (A.D. 217-218); *P.Gen.* I (2e éd.) 72, 2-3 (early III A.D.); *P.Flor.* II 187, 9 (A.D. 249-268); *PSI* XV 1553, 4 (first half of III A.D.); *P.Flor.* II 171, 2 (A.D. 255); *P.Flor.* II 250, 6 (A.D. 257); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1 and 4 (c. A.D. 258-260); *SB* VI 9415 (23), 4 (A.D. 259-260); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 7 and 28 (c. A.D. 270); *P.Wash.Univ.* I 30, 25 and 30 (middle III A.D.); *SB* X 10557, 11 (middle III A.D.); *BGU* IV 1030, 2 (middle III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14 (c. A.D. 285); *SB* XII 10918, 11-12 and 14-15 (second half of III A.D.); *P.Lond.* III 988, 11 (III A.D.); *P.Tebt.* II 422, 22 (III A.D.); *SB* XXVI 16808, 11 (III A.D.); *P.Haun.* II 38, 9 (III A.D.); *SB* XXVI 16563, 12 (III A.D.); *P.Giss. Bibl.* III 29 V, 8 (III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* VI 935, 19-20 (III A.D.); *P.Ryl.* II 244, 7 (III A.D.); *P.Warr.* 17, 9 (III A.D.); *PSI* I 93, 12 and 17 (III A.D.); *PSI* VII 832, 8 (III A.D.); *P.Hamb.* II 192, 4 and 7 (III A.D.); *PSI* VIII 970, 3 (III A.D.); *PSI* XV 1554, 4 and 10-11 (III A.D.); *SB* XIV 12200, 14 (III A.D.).

<sup>49</sup> *P.Oxy.* I 118, 35-36 and 38-39 (late III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 15 (late III A.D.); *P.Worp* 24, 5-6 (III-IV A.D.); *P.Abinn.* 25, 7 (c. A.D. 346); *P.Ammon* I 3, 3, 13 (A.D. 348); *P.Oslo* II 62, 5 (first half of IV A.D.); *PSI* XV 1563, 12 (IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XII 1590, 1 (IV A.D.); *NYU* I 25, 11 (IV A.D.); *P.Bingen* 121, 12 (late IV-early V A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2156, 18 (late IV-V A.D.); *P.Wash.Univ.* I 35, v, 3 (IV-V A.D.); *PSI* V 478, 6 (V A.D.); *PUG* II 85, 6 (V-VI A.D.); *P.Strasb.* VIII 719, 9 (V-VI A.D.); *P.Harr.* I 157, 5 (V-VI A.D.); *PSI* XIV 1428, 5 (first half of VI A.D.); *SB* VI 9616, v, 5 and 10; r, 8 (A.D. 550-558); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 5 and 15 (c. A.D. 577-583); *SB* VI 9285, 11 (second half of VI A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 3 (VI A.D.); *P.Rain.Cent.* 79, 10 (VI A.D.); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 1 and 3 (VI A.D.); *P.Gen.* IV 168, 30 (late VI - early VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1851, 4 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1852, 3 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LVI 3873, 2 and 5 (VI-VII A.D.); *SPP* XX 224, 3 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1164, 4 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB* XVIII 13762, 6 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB* III 7036, 2 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Amh.* II 153, 16 (c. A.D. 643-644); *CPR* XXV 30, 3 (first half of VII



to the Byzantine period, and even fewer (only 25 instances<sup>50</sup>) are dated to the Ptolemaic period. There is also one document (*SB* IV 7478, 9), which is not dated<sup>51</sup>. A first inference that can be drawn from this account is that the occurrences in the letters of the Roman period are twice as many as the letters of the other two periods together. It is also worth noting that the number of the Byzantine letters is less than the third of the Roman ones.

**Position of the adverb.** Although the position of the adverb in the clause structure is not fixed, a careful observation of the changes that happened in its placement in the surface structure could lead to some interesting assumptions. In 161 out of a total of 217 instances where εὐθέως is used, it is placed before the verbal form that is modified by the adverb, and in only 38 instances it is placed after it. In four cases, three of which date from the Ptolemaic period, the verb is omitted because it is understood, in nine cases the modified constituent is not preserved, and in five cases, because of the mutilated or fragmentary condition of the papyri, it is uncertain which is the modified constituent. It seems that it is indifferent whether the adverb is near the verbal form or not. In 77 out of the 161 instances (nearly half of the whole) that the adverb precedes and in 15 out of the 38 instances (not considerably less than half of the whole) that the adverb follows, it is right next to the verbal form. At any case only a few words can be put between the adverbial and the verbal form which is modified. Only certain other verbal forms can be placed between them, that is a temporal participle or a temporal subordinate clause. In these cases emphasis is laid on the future immediate action (see Litinas 2004, 286). In any case, the coupling between the verb and the adverb is very strong regardless the position of the adverb. The need of rapidity or immediacy expressed by the adverb is of such importance as the performance of the described action itself.

A closer look on the matter shows that the position of the adverbial was differentiated during the ten centuries of the Greco-Roman period (c. 300 B.C.-A.D. 640). In the Ptolemaic period it was usually placed before the verbal form: in 15 cases the adverb precedes, and only in four it follows. In 11 of the cases, where it precedes (more than two thirds of the cases),

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A.D.); *CPR* XXIV 31, 7 (middle - second half of VII A.D.); *P.Apoll.* 62, 5-6 (c. second half of VII A.D.); *P.Ness.* 75, 6 (late VII A.D.); *CPR* XIV 52, 14 (VII A.D.); *P.Lond.* III 1041, 3 (VII A.D.).

<sup>50</sup> I 59034, 17 (before 257 B.C.); *P.Hib.* I 45, 10 (257 B.C.); *PSI* V 498, 3 (257 B.C.); *P.Ryl.* IV 557, 6 (257 B.C.); I 59129, 16 (256 B.C.); *PSI* VI 557, 2 (256 B.C.); II 59155, 3 and 5 (256 B.C.); *PSI* V 499, 2 (256 B.C.); *P.Petr.* II 13, Fr3, r, 7 and Fr18a, 16 (256 or 255 B.C.); II 59191, 15-16 (255 B.C.); II 59196, 4 (254 B.C.); II 59204, 5 (254 B.C.); *P.Lond.* VII 1979, 8 (before 252 B.C.); *PSI* V 514, 8 (251 B.C.); *SB* XXII 15278, 13b (246-245 B.C.); *P.Col.* IV 114 f, Fr1, 4 (middle III B.C.); *PSI* IV 402, 10 (middle III B.C.); *P.Petr.* II 23 (1), 14 (III B.C.); *P.Zen.Pestm.* 57, 2 (III B.C.); *P.Yale* I 42, v, 3 (187 B.C.); *UPZ* I 59, 10 (179 or 168 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* III .2 945, 12 (175 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* III .2 947, 5 (early II B.C.).

<sup>51</sup> However, the reading in lines 9-10 (εὐθέως δὲ ακ[ --- ἀρχι]μυανδρίτου ευ[ --- ]), and the subsequent probable restoration ἀρχιμυανδρίτου indicates a date in the Byzantine period. The earliest attestation of this title is found in *P.Köln* II 112, 12 (V-VI A.D.), and, therefore, *SB* IV 7478 should be probably dated to the same period.

and in two of the cases, where it follows (exactly the half of the total occurrences), it is placed right next to the modified constituent. In the Roman period it continued to be placed mostly before: in 118 instances it is placed before, whereas only in 19 cases it is placed after the modified constituent. The difference is that only in 51 cases, where it precedes (significantly less than half of the total occurrences), and in eight cases, where it follows (less than half of the whole), it is found right next to the verbal form. The tendency to place a temporal participle between the verb and the adverb in the Roman period seems to become linguistic habit. The result of this tendency was a more frequent separation of the verbal form and the adverb, if we compare it to the Ptolemaic period. In the Byzantine period the position of the adverb in the clause structure became even more random, since in 28 instances it is placed before the verbal form, and in 15 cases it is placed after it; these numbers indicate a much less significant irregularity from the one observed in the Ptolemaic and Roman papyri. The proximity of the adverb and the modified constituent also seems to play only a minor role for the Byzantine writer: in 15 out of the 28 instances, where the adverb precedes, and in five out of the 15 cases, where it follows, it is found right next to the verbal form.

**Regarding the verbal mood.** Another aspect that should be examined is the verbal mood that is combined with the adverb. There are three verbal moods that are combined with the adverb εὐθέως: indicative (83 instances), subjunctive (eleven instances), and imperative (59 instances). In 30 cases the adverb refers to an infinitive, mainly one that denotes purpose. In most of these cases the infinitive functions as a complement to a verb that has the meaning of strong will, and the phrase can be translated as “I want something to be done immediately”. In just seven instances the adverb refers to a participle. The predominant tenses of the verbs in indicative are future (40 instances out of a total of 83) and aorist (32 instances out of the same total). There are also eight verbs in the present tense, one verb in the imperfect<sup>52</sup>, and two in the past perfect. The distribution of the data can lead to the assumption that the described actions could either have not yet been performed (when we have a subjunctive, an infinitive, an imperative, or a future, and sometimes present, indicative), or have already been performed in the past (and then we have aorist indicative).

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<sup>52</sup> One could expect that any continuous tenses would have been automatically ruled out, because the adverb focuses on the immediacy of the action. Therefore, the action should happen just once, unless there was a repetitive sequence of actions described, like “every time this happens, you’ll immediately act in this certain way”. However, none of these two possibilities are true concerning *UPZ* I 59, 6-14 (κομισαμένη τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν | παρ’ Ὀδρου, ἐν ἣι διεσάφεις εἶναι | ἐν κατοχῇ ἐν τῷ Σαραπειῶν τῷ | ἐν Μέμφει, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἐρῶσθα[ι] σε | εὐθέως τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαριστοῦν, | ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μὴ παραγίνεσθαί σε [π]ά[ν]των | τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀπειλημμένων παραγεγο[νό]των | ἀηδίζομαι ἔνεκα τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τούτου | καιροῦ ἐμαυτὴν τε καὶ τὸ παιδίον σου), which is a unique example where an imperfect is modified. One could assume that the use of this tense was a scribal mistake instead of the past tense, εὐχαρίστησα.

Subjunctive and future indicative can function as an alternative of imperative in some cases, and some senders prefer to use them instead of that mood.

**The verbs modified.** The verbs that are combined with the adverb εὐθέως could be divided in four main groups.

The first one contains verbs that are used by the sender to describe the transportation of goods or persons, that is, both the sending and the delivery of them, like πέμπω (thirty six instances<sup>53</sup>), διαπέμπω (six instances<sup>54</sup>), and δίδωμι (five instances<sup>55</sup>), ἀποστέλλω (four instances<sup>56</sup>), κομίζω (three instances<sup>57</sup>), ἄγω<sup>58</sup>, ἀναπέμπω<sup>59</sup>, καταλαμβάνω<sup>60</sup>, λαμβάνω<sup>61</sup>, παρακομίζω<sup>62</sup> (each of them is found twice), ἀνακομίζω (*PSI* V 499, 2), ἀποδίδωμι (*P.Oxy.* III 532, 12), ἀπολαμβάνω (*P.Oxy.* II 298, 17), ἐκδίδωμι (*P.Oxy.* LIX 3989, 7), ἐκπέμπω (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 3), ἐξάγω (*P.Petr.* II 13, Fr3, r, 7), ἐπιδίδωμι (*P.Tebt.* III .2 947, 5), ἐπιστέλλω (*P.Strasb.* VI 581, 2, 10), καταπέμπω (*PSI* V 514, 8), μεταπέμπω (*SB* XII 10918, 11-12), παραλαμβάνω (*P.Fuad I Univ.* 10, 15), φέρω (*P.Hib.* I 45, 10). The verb εἰμί (*P.Oxy.* VI 935, 19-20) also belongs to the first group, since its object is the noun μεταφορά, and the conveyed meaning of the sentence is that the transportation was going to be immediate<sup>63</sup>.

The second group contains verbs that are used by the sender to describe a person as going or being present somewhere, like ἀνέρχομαι<sup>64</sup>, ἔρχομαι<sup>65</sup> (seven instances each), παραγίγνομαι (six instances<sup>66</sup>), γίγνομαι (five instances<sup>67</sup>), and ἀπέρχομαι (four instances<sup>68</sup>),

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<sup>53</sup> *BGU* I 249, 6; *P.Bour.* 23, 11; *P.Lond.* III 988, 11; *P.Mich.* VIII 488, 7; *P.Mil. Vogl.* IV 218, 5-6; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 3; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1851, 4; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1852, 3; *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5179, 7; *P.Phil.* 32, 13; *P.Tebt.* II 422, 22; *SB* XIV 12176, 1; *O.Did.* 445, 16; *BGU* XVI 2636, 7; *O.Did.* 343, 7; *O.Flor.* 12, 4; *O.Flor.* 17, 6; *P.Alex.Giss.* 44, 4; *P.Fay.* 119, 33; *P.Flor.* II 187, 9; *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 22; *P.Sarap.* 84 a, r, 2, 10; *PSI* I 93, 12 and 17; *PSI* VII 832, 8; *SB* X 10557, 11; *O.Claud.* I 174, 12; *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14; *CPR* XXIV 31, 7; *O.Did.* 325, 5; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 1; *P.Ryl.* II 229, 9; *PSI* VII 821, 2; *SB* III 7036, 2; *P.Oxy.* III 530, 30.

<sup>54</sup> *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 11; *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 15; *P.Mich.* III 206, 19-20; *SB* VIII 9826, 10; *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 4; *P.Strasb.* V 346, 5.

<sup>55</sup> *P.Oxy.* LXXVI 5100, 17; *PSI* V 478, 6; *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 33 and 38; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 19.

<sup>56</sup> *PSI* XV 1563, 12; *P.Lond.* VII 1979, 8; *P.Flor.* II 171, 2; *P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14.

<sup>57</sup> *BGU* I 249, 11; *P.Wash.Univ.* I 30, 25 and 30.

<sup>58</sup> *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59129, 16; *P.Tebt.* III .2 945, 12.

<sup>59</sup> *P.Louvre* II 99, 24; *P.Warr.* 14, 31.

<sup>60</sup> *P.Ammon* I 3, 3, 13; *P.Oslo* II 62, 5.

<sup>61</sup> *P.Princ.* III 187, 13; *W.Chr.* 480, 8.

<sup>62</sup> *PSI* VI 557, 2; *P.Hamb.* I 54, r, 1, 14-15.

<sup>63</sup> *P.Oxy.* VI 935, 18-20: ἡ μεταφ[ορά] | τῶν ἀνκαλῶν ἔστε εὐθ[έ]ως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός.

<sup>64</sup> *P.Oxy.* XII 1585, 7; *P.Rainer Cent.* 79, 10; *PSI* XV 1563, 12; *SB* VIII 9644, 9; *SB* XXVI 16808, 11; *PSI* XIV 1428, 5; *SB* XIV 12200, 14.

<sup>65</sup> *P.Sel. Warga* 13, 4; *P.Apoll.* 62, 5-6; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2981, 10; *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3313, 4; *BGU* IV 1030, 2; *P.Lund.* II 2, 3; *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 40.

<sup>66</sup> *P.Berl. Möller* 9, 3; *SB* VI 9121, 2/3 and 10; I 59034, 17; *P.Mich.* VIII 497, 10; *P.Yale* I 42, v, 3.

<sup>67</sup> *P.Köln* II 107, 4; *P.Bas.* 18, 7; *PSI* XV 1553, 4; *P.Oxy.* LXXVII 5112, 3; *PSI* XV 1554, 4.

<sup>68</sup> *O.Did.* 389, 4; *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 11; *SB* VI 9616, v, 10; *P.Oxy.* LIX 3988, 3-4.

ἐξέρχομαι<sup>69</sup>, πορεύομαι<sup>70</sup> (three instances each), ἀναβαίνω<sup>71</sup>, κατέρχομαι<sup>72</sup> (each of them is found twice), ἀνακάμπω (*P.Cair.Zen.* II 59204, 5), ἀναπλέω (*SB* X 10529, FrB, 6), εἰσέρχομαι (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 7), ἐξελαύνω (*P.Oxy.* I 118, 38-39), ἦκω (*P.Bas.* 18, 10), καταντῶ (*P.Heid.* II 211, 3), πάρειμι (*P.Zen.Pestm.* 57, 2), σπεύδω (*O.Did.* 434, 4).

The third group contains verbs that are used by the sender to describe the action of informing somebody about something, usually by writing or responding to a letter, like γράφω (twelve instances<sup>73</sup>), δηλῶ (four instances<sup>74</sup>), ἀντιγράφω (it is found twice<sup>75</sup>), and ἀναφέρω (*P.Strasb.* VII 652, 68), ἀπαντῶ (*P.NYU* I 25, 11), δημοσιῶ (*P.Oxy.* III 533, 5), διαγράφω (*PSI* XV 1563, 12), μεταγράφω (*P.Mert.* II 83, 20).

There are also some verbs which are combined with εὐθέως, but they cannot fall into one certain semantic group: ἀπολύω (six instances<sup>76</sup>), γίγνομαι (four instances<sup>77</sup>), ἐγκλείω<sup>78</sup>, ποιῶ<sup>79</sup> (each of them is found twice), and ἀγοράζω (*P.Oxy.* IV 839, 6/00), ἀμελῶ (*P.Hamb.* II 192, 3), ἀξιῶ (*P.Lond.* III 1041, 3), ἀπαρτίζω (*O.Leid.* 330, 8), ἀποκαθίστημι (*P.Tebt.* II 413, 4), ἀφίστημι (*P.Giss. Bibl.* III 29 V, 8), βάλλω (*P.Freib.* IV 64, 16), δοκῶ (*P.Ryl.* II 230, 10), ἐγγραμματίζω<sup>80</sup> (*P.Petr.* II 13, Fr18a, 16), εἰσπράττω (*P.Laur.* II 39, 8), ἐκπλέκω (*SB* XII 10918, 14-15), ἐξίστημι (*PSI* VII 822, 13), ἐτοιμάζω (*P.Gen.* I (2e éd.) 72, 2-3), εὐρίσκω (*P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1), εὐχαριστῶ (*UPZ* I 59, 10), καθίστημι (*P.Mich.* VIII 486, 10), κατασπείρω (*P.Cair.Zen* II 59155, 5), κναφεύω (*P.Oxy.* XVII 2156, 18), λύω (*P.Fay.* 120, 9), μανθάνω (*P.Ryl.* II 244, 7), μέλλω (*P.Oxy.* VIII 1155, 4-5), μέμνημαι (*P.Mil. Vogl.* VI 279, 9), μεταβάλλω (*P.Warr.* 17, 9), παρακάθημαι (*PSI* IV 402, 10), παραφέρω (*P.Oxy.* VIII 1164, 4), πληρῶ (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 5), ποτίζω (*P.Cair.Zen* II 59155, 3), συμβάλλω (*P.Mil. Vogl.* II 61, 4), συγχωρῶ (*P.Bingen* 121, 12), χειμάζω (*BGU* III 844, 4), ὠνοῦμαι (*P.Hamb.* II 192, 7). As

<sup>69</sup> *PUG* II 85, 6; *SB* XIV 12026, 6; *P.Oxy.* I 118, 35-36.

<sup>70</sup> *P.Giss.* I 70, 5; *P.Col.* VIII 212, 3; *PSI* VIII 970, 3.

<sup>71</sup> *SB* III 6299, 2; *P.Köln* I 56, 5.

<sup>72</sup> *P.Strasb.* IV 193, 4 and 12-13.

<sup>73</sup> *P.Amh.* II 153, 16; *P.Coll. Youtie* I 54, 9; *P.Lond.* III 897, 14; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3873, 1 and 5; *P.Strasb.* VIII 719, 9; *SPP* XX 224, 3; *O.Did.* 343, 7; *P.Amst.* I 89, 5; *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 19; *O.Claud.* II 290, 6; *SB* VI 9285, 11.

<sup>74</sup> *BGU* III 821, 7; *P.Mich.* VIII 490, 12; *PSI* XII 1241, 28-29; *PSI* XV 1540, 2.

<sup>75</sup> *SB* VI 9616, v, 5 and r, 8.

<sup>76</sup> *P.Dub.* 15, 22; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 17; *SB* XVIII 13762, 6; *CPR* XXV 30, 3; *P.Gen.* IV 168, 30; *P.Laur.* IV 187, 20-21.

<sup>77</sup> *P.Lond.* III 897, 5; *P.Abinn.* 25, 7; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 15; *P.Oxy.* X 1291, 5.

<sup>78</sup> *P.Sel. Warga* 12, 8 (the form ἐκλείσης here should be regularized to ἐγκλείσης, since it is in subjunctive mood, and, if it was a form of the verb κλείω, it could not possibly begin with the temporal indicator ἐ-; besides, the form ἐνκλείσης, which should also be regularized to ἐγκλείσης, occurs in lines 5-6 of the same papyrus, so one could assume that the same verb was used in the eighth line); *P.Laur.* IV 187, 3.

<sup>79</sup> *P.Alex.Giss.* 48, 6; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 28.

<sup>80</sup> I would suggest the reading ἐγγραμμα<τ>ίζειν instead of ἐνγρημαιζειν in *P.Petr.* II 13, Fr18a, 15-16 (καὶ [. . . . λ]οιπὰ ἔργα ὡς ἂν γραφῆι αὐτῶι | . αματη[. . . σ]ύμβολα ἐνγρημαιζειν \εὐθέως/ [ και μη] ).

it can easily be observed, the verb γίγνομαι could, or could not, belong to the second group depending on its meaning, either “I am” (second group) or “I become”.

A first deduction is that the objects that should be moved immediately in the second group are humans (mostly relatives, friends, or the sender and the recipient of the letter themselves) and in the third group letters. When εὐθέως is combined with a verb of these groups, it is considered firstly as an adverbial of time, meaning “immediately”, and secondly an adverbial of manner. The things that should be sent, given or received quickly are those that people considered as important or valuable in a rural society, like oil and vinegar (*P.Mil. Vogl.* IV 218, 5-6), wine (*SB XIV* 12176, 1; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1851, 4; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 1 and 3), a rush-basket (*P.Alex.Giss.* 44, 5), animals (*P.Fay.* 119, 34 and *P.Flor.* II 171, 2), letters or pieces of notice (*P.Oxy.* III 532, 12; *P.Oxy.* LXXVI 5100, 17; *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 15; *O.Did.* 343, 7; *P.Sarap.* 84 a, r, 2, 10; *P.Warr.* 14, 31; *PSI V* 514, 8), jars full of caper (*P.Flor.* II 187, 9 and *PSI VII* 832, 8), loaves of bread and relish (*P.Ryl.* II 229, 9), the dimensions of a light boat (*P.Oxy.* LIX 3989, 7), monthly provisions (*P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5179, 7), mattresses and leather pillows (*P.Lond.* VII 1979, 8), a contract of lease (*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14), hay for animals (*P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14), receipts (*SB III* 7036, 2 and *P.Oxy.* III 530, 30), plants (*PSI V* 499, 2), oil (*P.Laur.* IV 187, 3), and, of course, money (*P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 11; *P.Phil.* 32, 13; *P.Wash.Univ.* I 30, 25; *W.Chr.* 480, 8; *O.Flor.* 17, 6; *SB VIII* 9826, 10; *O.Claud.* I 174, 12). There are also some letters, in which the items to be sent are not stated, like *PSI V* 478, 6<sup>81</sup> and *O.Did.* 325, 5. In these cases somebody has to assume that the recipient of the letter had access to the required information, in order to understand the sender’s statements. In other letters the mutilated<sup>82</sup> or fragmentary<sup>83</sup> condition of the text prevents the modern scholar from being sure about what was actually sent or to be sent. In *P.Hib.* I 45, 10 it is uncertain if what the sender asks for is grain or money. In *P.Bour.* 23, 11 the sender probably asks for some amount of oil ointment. In *P.Cair.Zen* II 59191, 15-16 the sender asks the recipient to send something for some girls immediately, but he does not define what exactly should be sent. We only know that in his previous sentences he had asked for some sacrificial pigs. In some cases certain, named or unnamed, persons<sup>84</sup> are sent or should be sent immediately. In two cases

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<sup>81</sup> In this case the adverb is also restored. There are no reasons, however, to doubt about the validity of the restoration.

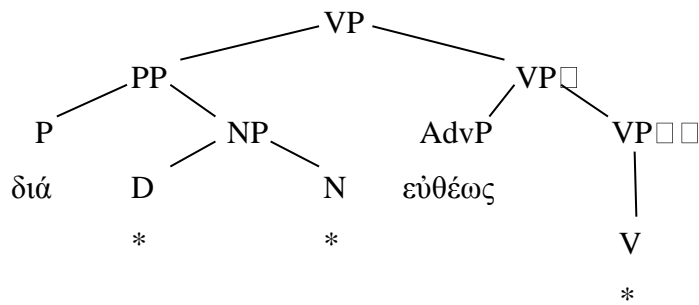
<sup>82</sup> One could assume that in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1852, 3 the delivery of some letters was described.

<sup>83</sup> In *BGU* I 249, 6 the sender probably asks for grain and barley. In *P.Princ.* III 187, 13 and in *PSI VI* 557, 2 money is probably sent or to be sent; in *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1 what is to be sent is probably some amount of wine; in *CPR XXIV* 31, 7 some ropes and in *PSI VII* 821, 2 chaff are sent.

<sup>84</sup> Heras (in *P.Louvre* II 99, 24), Ammonios (in *P.Mich.* VIII 488, 7), Ioannis and Parsakis (in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 3, in which the names should be regularized to the accusative case, since they are the objects of the verb

specific documents which were important for the administration should be sent immediately<sup>85</sup>. Lastly, in four cases the sender promises to send immediately everything that the recipient of the letter may need<sup>86</sup>.

When a third person is involved in carrying goods, a prepositional structure is possible to identify the courier. This prepositional structure, illustrated in the following tree, modifies the verb and the adverb.



The structure consists of the preposition *διὰ* and a noun in the genitive case<sup>87</sup>. In *BGU* I 249, 11 we read that the items should be carried by a small donkey. In *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 218, 5-6 the courier should be the first person who sails downstream. In *O.Did.* 343, 7 the camel-drivers carried the letter, which the sender was talking about. In *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14 the sender asked for a contract which should be carried by the donkey-drivers or some other trustworthy person. This contract could guarantee the safety of the document. In *PSI* VII 821, 2 the courier is an errand boy or a young slave. Lastly, in *PSI* V 499, 2 some plants had been sent by Zenon, and had been carried to the destination by donkeys or some other animals used for that purpose. There are also two cases, in which the identity of the courier or the means of transport were stated, but they are not preserved because of the fragmentary

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*πέμψον*), along with their swords and shields, Theodoros (in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1), Akoutas (in *P.Tebt.* II 422, 22), a supplier (in *PSI* XV 1563, 12), Diogenes (in *BGU* XVI 2636, 7), Kalokairos (in *PSI* I 93, 12), along with a deed of surrender, the adversaries in a suit (in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1164, 4), and Ptolemaios (in *SB* XII 10918, 11-12).

<sup>85</sup> A register should be sent immediately in *PSI* V 498, 3. In *P.Lond.* III 988, 11 the sender asks the recipient of the letter to send her some documents or pieces of papyrus immediately. The goods the sender asks for were about to be used for administrative purposes, judging from the vocabulary of the rest of the letter, like the use of the word *διαστολικόν* in l. 9, which is a word that refers to official activity. Lastly, a legal instrument was expected to be given immediately in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 17-28.

<sup>86</sup> In *P.Hamb.* I 54, r, 1, 14-15, in *P.Mich.* III 206, 19-20, in *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 22, and in *P.Wash.Univ.* I 30, 30. These promises constitute a variant of a politeness-formula, which can be found in a variety of phraseology in the private letters, and was used, in order to state that, if the recipient of the letter asks of something, this is going to be done in no time by the sender.

<sup>87</sup> It shouldn't be expected, of course, that every construction of *διὰ* and genitive near the adverb *εὐθέως* is used, in order to provide information about the courier. In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 3-4 the phrase *διὰ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας* denotes time (today). In *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 11 the phrase *διὰ ἐπιθήκης* probably denotes the way of payment (by a letter of credit, and not in cash). In *P.Lond.* III 897, 23 the phrase *δι[ὰ τ]ῆς ἐπιστολῆς* denotes reason (because of the letter).

condition of the texts<sup>88</sup>. The absence of such a prepositional phrase could imply that the means of transport were prearranged, or that the transportation was a usual one, and should be conducted as usual, or even that the receiver of the letter was himself responsible of finding a way to send the requested goods at once. In the first two cases the adverb could be considered as agent-oriented, i.e. the responsibility of the recipient of the letter was limited to delivering at once the requested goods to the people who were going to carry them, whereas in the third case the adverb is clearly result-oriented, i.e. the recipient of the letter is responsible for the whole process, until the immediate delivery of the requested goods to the sender by the courier. Since the modern scholar does not have access to the extra-linguistic context of the letters, one should assume that the adverb is result-oriented, unless the evidence strongly supports another interpretation.

**The adverb in a subordinate clause of purpose.** It is not unusual to find the adverb inside a subordinate clause of purpose. These are the cases of *BGU I 249*, 6-7 [ἵνα μ[ο]ι εὐθέως πεμφθῶσι | καὶ κρειθῆ (“so [these things] and barley are sent immediately to me”), *P.Lond.* III 897, 22-24 {ε}ἵνα μὴ με|λανήσης δι[ὰ τ]ῆς ἐπιστολῆς κ[α]ὶ π[α]ραγενάμενος ε[ὐ]θέως | [ (“so you don’t go mad because of the letter, and so, after you come here immediately, do so and so”<sup>89</sup>), *P.Mich.* VIII 488, 7-9 ἵνα εὐθέως πέμψῃ Ἀμμώνιον πρὸς τὸν | κατασπασμὸν τῆς ἐλάς (l. ἐλαίας) (“so he may send Ammonios at once for the harvesting of the olives”), *P.Rainer Cent.* 79, 9-10 ἵνα ποιήσω, [ἦ] ἀναμείνω ὧδε | ἢ ἀνέλθω εὐθέως (“so I’ll take action, or stay put, or come there at once”), *P.Ryl.* II 230, 9-11 μὴ ἵνα | δόξωμέν σε εὐθέως ἠλλάχθαι | τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς (“so we are going to think at once that you have become estranged towards us”<sup>90</sup>), *P.Sel.Warga* 12, 8-9 ἵν’ εὐθέως ἀπο|λάβης ἐκλείσης (“so that as

<sup>88</sup> In *O.Did.* 445, 16 the preposition διὰ, by which the prepositional construction that denotes the courier or the means of transport is usually introduced, is well preserved. The genitive of the masculine article, or some other word starting with του-, is also preserved. What is not preserved is the identity of the courier. In *P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 3 some amount of wine should be carried by the same person that was mentioned earlier, in the missing first part of the letter, as doing or should be doing something. Perhaps, these two letters provided the only cases among the private correspondence, where εὐθέως is attested, that the name of the courier was mentioned.

<sup>89</sup> The line, in which the modified constituent used to lie, is mutilated. It should be considered that the adverb is part of the following subordinate clause, which is introduced by the conjunction ἵνα in l. 9, and is connected to the preceding clause by the coordinating conjunction καί. The decision of the writer to put the participle and the adverb between the two clauses of purpose seems to be just a matter of style, and nothing more than that.

<sup>90</sup> The translation proposed by the editor is “lest we think you to have become all at once estranged towards us”. In that case one should assume that the sender is in the position to know when exactly the shift of the stance of the recipient of the letter took place, in order to infer that it happened suddenly. Moreover, he should be interested in that, and this is the reason he writes about it. However, both assumptions should be disregarded. The sender threatened the recipient of the letter that, if he fails to act in a certain way, his failure would be enough to be considered at the first place and immediately (εὐθέως) as a shift of his stance towards the sender. Therefore, the adverb is construed with the verb δόξωμεν, and not with the infinitive ἠλλάχθαι. In fact,

soon as you take it you may lock it up”<sup>91</sup>), *P.Sel. Warga* 13 4-5 ἵν’ εὐθέως τὸ ἀργύριον [[ ἀπὸ] \ἐλθης/ | ἔχων (“so that you may come immediately having the money”), *SB VIII* 9645, 7 ἵνα εὐθέως ἐνπεδ . . . ς (the verb of the clause is not preserved), *CPR XXV* 30, 3 {ε}ἵνα ἀπολῆσαι εὐθέως (l. εὐθέως) τ . . . [ . . . ] (the text is fragmentary, and the meaning is obscure). The concept is that there is an action, described in the sentence to which the subordinate clause refers to, which is the presupposition of the immediate accomplishment of the second action, the one described in the subordinate clause. As observed also in the case of ταχέως, the opposite structure (i.e. the immediate action to be the prerequisite to another action) is not so frequent, and is found only twice, in *PSI I* 93, 17-20 ἐάν μοι εὐθέως πέμψεις Καλόκαιρον καὶ | τὴν ἐκχώρησιν Νε|μεσίλλης (“if you send me immediately Kalokairos and the deed of surrender of Nemesilla), and in *P.Strasb.* IV 193, 11-13 ἐάν γὰρ α . [ . . ] | μὴ κατελθεῖ[ν εὐθέ]ως (“if you... don’t come at once”). The adverb cannot be found in any other adverbial subordinate clauses<sup>92</sup>.

**The adverb in a clause after a conditional subordinate clause.** It is possible that a conditional subordinate clause precedes, and describes the presuppositions of the speed<sup>93</sup>. There is a considerable number of such phrases, e.g. in *BGU I* 249, 9-11 ἐάν δὲ μὴ λαβῶν | παρα[ . . . χ]αλκὸν ναυλῶσαι ὀνάριον καὶ | εὐθ[έως . . . . κο]μισθήτω (“if you don’t receive copper coins...”), in *P.Abinn.* 25, 6-7 ἐάν σοι οὖν δοκ<ε>ῖ, κύριε, ἐλθ<ε>ῖν πρὸς | ἡμᾶς, καὶ εὐθέως γαίνεται τὸ ἔργον (“if you want to come to us...”), in *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5179, 5-8 εἰ οὖν ὡς γράφει μήπω τῷ πενθερῷ αὐτοῦ — | ἀπεστάλη, εὐθέως τῷ Ἡλιοδώρῳ | πέμψον αὐτὰ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν (“if it has not been sent yet to his father-in-law...”), in *P.Bas.* 18, 9-10 ἐάν ὁ θεὸς θέλη | εὐθέως ἦξοι πρὸς σέ (“if the god wants it...”), in *P.Oxy.* II 298, 16-18 ἐάν δέ τι ἄλλο προσοφεῖ|[ληται – c. 12 letters -]μενος εὐθέως ἀπολήμψη ἐν τόσῳ καὶ εἰς | [τὸν - ca.12 - πο]λείτην διαβαίνω (“if anything else is still owed...”), in *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 20-21 ἐάν | τι θέλ[η]ς πεμφθῆναί σοι, γράψον μοι | καὶ εὐθέως σοι πέμψω (“if you want something sent to you...”), in *P.Wash.Univ.* I 30, 23-25 εἰ δὲ χρεῖαν ἔχεις ἄλλων | ἐ[π]ιμηνιδίων γράψον μοι |

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the sender cared about the accomplishment of a certain task, and not about what the recipient of the letter was thinking of him. In addition, it is hard to understand why, and how, the shift of the stance of the recipient of the letter could be sudden.

<sup>91</sup> I think that the participle ἀπολαβῶν should be here instead of the subjunctive ἀπολάβης. Otherwise, there would be more verbs than clauses in this passage, and that simply can’t happen. The participle is temporal, and is placed between the adverb and the modified constituent, as the trend in the Roman period commanded.

<sup>92</sup> It can be found in some noun clauses (*P.Warr.* 17, 9; *SB VI* 9616, v, 10; *SB XVIII* 13762, 6; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 5 and 15; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2981, 10; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1; *O.Claud.* I 174, 12; *P.Laur.* IV 187, 3; *O.Did.* 325, 5), and in two relative clauses (*P.Lond.* III 1041, 3 and *P.Giss.* I 70, 5). However, these clauses do not indicate how the immediate action is related to other actions, and, therefore, are not of any significance.

<sup>93</sup> A list of the conditional clauses introduced by ἐάν near the adverb εὐθέως has been compiled by Litinas (2004, 286).



κα[ι] εὐθέως σοι κομισθήσεται<sup>94</sup> (“if you need any more monthly allowance...”) and 28-31 ἀντί[γ]ραψον | δέ μοι εἴπερ χρήζεις ἄ[λλ]ου | καὶ εὐθέως σοι κομισθήσεται (“if you need another one...”), in *P.Zen.Pestm.* 57, 1-2 ἔαμπερ ορθ[ -ca.?- ] | εὐθέως παρέσει, εἰ δὲ μὴ γίνωσκε διότι οὐθ[ --- ] (the meaning is obscure because of the fragmentary condition of the text), in *PSI XII* 1241, 28-29 εἴ τι δὲ ἐὰν πράξω, εὐθέως ὑμ[ε]ῖν δηλώσω (“if I do anything...”), in *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 33-34 ἐὰν οὖν με φιλῆς εὐθέως ἐργασίαν δώ[σ<ε>]ς γράψαι μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου (“if you love me...”) (further discussion of this text in pp. 35 and 41), and in *P.Hib.* I 45, 8-10 καὶ εἴ τι κερμάτιον | λελογεύκατε φέρετε εὐθέως (“if you have collected any money...”).

In some instances conditional clauses introduced by ἐάν also bear temporal connotations; cf. e.g. in *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 10-12 τὰ ἀργύρια ἐὰν | συνλέξης, εὐθέως διὰ ἐπιθήκης διαπέμψαι μοι (“if (and when) you collect the money...”), in *P.Amh.* II 153, 15-18 ἐὰν δὲ ἐκφρήση | τὰ ἀρρενικὰ πρόβατα, γράψον μοι εὐθέως | ὅτι π[ό]σα ἀρρενικά εἰσιν | καὶ πόσα θηλικὰ/ καὶ πέμψον τὴν | καταγραφὴν αὐτῶν (“if (and when) you recount the male sheep...”), in *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 10-13 ἐὰν αἰ | ὁδοὶ στερεωθ[ῶσι], εὐθέως ἀπελεύσομαι πρὸς τὸν γεωργόν σου | καὶ αἰτήσω αὐτὸν τὰ ἐκφόριά σου (“if (and when) the roads become firm...”), in *P.Oxy.* XLI 2981, 9-12 ἐὰν ἀναλάβω ἐμαυτόν, εὐθέως ἐλεύσομαί σοι εἰς | Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀπὸ Πακέρκη (“if (and when) I recover my health...”), and in *P.Strasb.* VI 581, 2, 9-10 ἐὰν πο|ρεύωμαι, ἐπιστελῶ σοι [ε]ὐθέως (“if (and when) I go...”).

**The adverb in a clause before a conditional subordinate clause<sup>95</sup>.** In one case a conditional clause follows the adverb. *P.Bour.* 23, 9-12 ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς | ἄλλας δύο ἀγοράση καὶ στροβί<λους> | δέκα, ἀλλὰ εὐθέως ἐὰν πέμπεται, where we should put a full stop after δέκα, and understand an imperative of a verb with the adverb εὐθέως, e.g. πεμπέσθω.

**The adverb in a clause before a subordinate clause of reason.** Sometimes, a subordinate clause of reason follows, and clarifies the reason of the hastiness, like in *P.Mil. Vogl.* IV 218, 3-8 πέμψατέ μοι, δι’ οὗ ἐὰν [ . . . ]μα[ . . . ] | τε, ἐλαίου ραφανίνου ἢ[μίχοα] ὀκτώ, ] | καὶ ὄξους Προσωπειτικοῦ ἑπτὰ, εὐθέως, διὰ προτέρου καταπλέοντος, ἐπεὶ δῶρον αὐτὰ | δίδωι (“...because I’ll offer them as gifts”), in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 3-5 πέμψον δὲ εὐθέως διὰ τῆς σήμερον | [ἡμέρας(?)] Ἰω]άννης καὶ Παρσάκις μετὰ τῶν σπαθίω[ν] αὐτῶν καὶ σκουταρίων, ἐπειδὴ θέλω | [τούτους] ἐ[γ]γύς μου (“...because I want them near me”), in

<sup>94</sup> A full stop should be put here, just after the modified constituent.

<sup>95</sup> In *P.Oxy.* III 530, 30-32 περὶ τούτων οὖν μοι εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν πέμψεις φάσιν εἰ τὸν χαλκὸν | ἐκομίσω καὶ εἰ ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἱμάτια (“whether I should bring the money, and whether you got the clothes”), the clauses are actually indirect questions.

*P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1-3 εὐθέως καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν Θεόδωρον τὸν παραπομπὸν πέμψη μοι ἔνταῦθα | ἢ σὴ γνησίᾳ λαμπρότητι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸν [ἀ]νβλέπει ὁ περίβλεπτος ἀ<ρ>γυροπράτη[ς] κατελθεῖν | ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν (“because the admired money-dealer knows that he went to Alexandria”), in *P.Rainer Cent.* 79, 9-11 ἢ διαγωγήσον περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τὸ τί θέλεις ἵνα ποιήσω, [ἦ] ἀναμείνω ὧδε | ἢ ἀνέλθω εὐθέως, ἐπ<ε>ιδὴ οὐτεμία ἀπόκρισις ἔως ἄρτι ἤλ[θε]ν περὶ τοῦ | ὑπερφουεστάτου στρατηλάτου (“because no answer has arrived until now about the most magnificent commander”), in *SB XIV* 12176, 1-6 εὐθέως | πέμψον μοι ἐν ἄσκοις | ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποθήκ(ης) ὀμφακίν(ου) μετ(ρητὰς) ε, ἐπὶ | εἴληφα ἀρραβῶνα πρὸς (δραχμὰς) ρκ, | καὶ λαχαν( ) (ἀρτάβας) ἠ πρὸς (δραχμὰς) κε (“because I received 120 drachmas as earnest-money”), in *SPP XX* 224, 2-3 τὴν δὲ ἀπόκρισιν τὴν περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀναστασίου γράψατέ μοι | εὐθέως ἐπειδὴ ἔχω αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ παραπεφυλαγμένον (“because I keep it somewhere else”), in *SB VI* 9616, r, 8-9 τὴν σωτηρίαν οὖν τοῦ δεσπότη μου τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Ἡλία, κελεύσατε ἀντιγράψαι μοι εὐθέως, | ἐπειδὴ, ὡς οἶδεν ὁ θεός, κλέων καὶ θλ[ι]βόμενος ἔγραψα ταῦτα (“because I was crying and distressed, while writing these things”), and in *P.Oxy.* LVI 3873, 5-8 ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν θεὸν εὐθέως | γράψη ἡμῖν ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης, ἐπειδὴ, ὡς εἶπον, πάντῃ | ὀλιγορεῖ διὰ τὴν πεμφθεῖσαν ὑμῖν ἔσωθεν τῶν γραμμάτω(ν) | ἐπιστολὴν Μηνᾶ τοῦ ὀσπριγίτου (“because he delays very much”).

**The adverb in a clause after a subordinate clause of reason.** In just one case, *PSI XV* 1563, 9-15 ἐπ<ε>ιδὴ τοίνυν Θεόγνω|στος ὁ χ<ε>ριστῆς περίστασιν παν|θάν<ε>ι καθ' ἡμέραν ἔνεκεν ὑμῶν, | εὐθέως οὖν ἢ ὑμεῖς ἀνέλθατε καὶ διαγράψαται ἢ ἀπο|στ<ε>ίλατε τὸν παρέχοντα τὸ μ[έ]ρος ὑμῶν Θεογνώστῳ (“because Theognostos, the administrator, suffers from fits everyday because of you...”), the subordinate clause of reason precedes the adverb. In *P.Ryl.* II 229, 7-11 ἐπεὶ οὖν | ἔπεμψάς μοι (ἀρτάβας) γ ἔρωτῶ σε | ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου εὐθέως μοι | πέ[μ]ψαι τὰς ἄλλας (ἀρτάβας) γ καὶ τὸ | ὀψάριον, ἐπεὶ ἐν πλοίῳ εἰμί one subordinate clause of reason precedes (“because you have sent me three artabae...”), and one follows the adverb (“because I am on board a boat...”). A participle of reason is found before εὐθέως in *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 8-10 ἢ γὰρ διορκῆ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ τὸν Οὐαλεριανὸν | μὴ ἐθέ[λο]ντα ἀντιδιαστελαιμένης αὐτῷ τῆς | γυναι[κὸς] εὐθέως πρὸς αὐτὴν καταστάσθαι (“...because his wife controverted our orders to him”).

**The adverb in a clause before a subordinate clause of purpose.** In some cases the clarification of the reason of the hastiness is made by the use of a subordinate clause of purpose. This structure is more usual, and can be found in numerous letters, like in *O.Leid.* 330, 8-11 εὐθέως | ἀπάρτισον αὐτὸ(ν) ἵνα | μηδεμίαν ἐποχῆ(ν) | γενέσθαι (“...so that there are no suspensions of payment”), in *P.Cair.Zen I* 59129, 14-19 [[ καὶ αὐθη]] [[ καὶ ὄπ]] ὡς δ' ἂν |

ἀποτρίψωσιν | αὐτάς, εὐθέως ἀγέτωσαν, | ὅπως μὴ συγκαυθεῖσα | ἔγλευκος<sup>96</sup> γένηται | καὶ ἀχρεῖος (“...so it does not become white and useless, if it is burnt up”), in *P.Coll. Youtie* I 54, 8-11 εἰ δὲ | μὴ, γράψον αὐτῷ εὐθέως | ἵνα καταλάβῃ ἢ ἐπιστολὴ | αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀποχωρισμὸν (“...so that the letter arrives before his departure”), in *P.Gen.* I (2e éd.) 72, 2-5 εὐθέως οὖν ἀρ[γ]ύριον ἐτοίμασον {ε}[ῖ]να π[α]ρρηχόμενος εὔρω πρ[ὸ] ἐμοῦ (“...so I’ll find it, when I come”), in *P.Oxy.* III 532, 10-14 ἀναγκαιῶς οὖν τῷ | ἀναδιδόντι σοὶ τὸ ἐπιστόλιον τοῦτο εὐθέως | ἀπόδος ὅπως κάμῃ | ἄσкулτον ποιήσης (“...so you may save me too from trouble”), in *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 17-19 εὐθέως δὲ | τὸν αὐτὸν Δίδυμον ἀπόλυσον, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ | πλ<ε>ῖον παρέλκηται παρὰ σοί) the adverb modifies the aorist imperative ἀπόλυσον (“...so he is not delayed by you anymore”), in *PSI* V 498, 4-6 εὐθέως δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχουσ[ῶν αὐτοῖς(?)] | [γυ]ναικῶν καὶ παιδίων, ἵνα ἐχθῶμεν εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ γραφέντα [αὐτῶν(?)] | [πλ]ήθη τὴν γινομένην αὐτοῖς σιτομετρίαν (“...so we’ll calculate the rations of corn according to their population”), in *P.Ness.* 75, 6-7 καλῶς (l. καλῶς) οὖν ποιεῖτε εὐθέως (l. εὐθέως) καὶ ὑμ<ε>ῖς [ . ] . . . ἄζοντες<sup>97</sup> ἵνα εὐρεθῶμε[ν] (l. εὐρεθῶμεν) | πάντες μιᾶς ψυχῆς καὶ μιᾶς ὁμονοίας (l. ὁμονοίας) (“...so we’re in solidarity and in amity with each other”), in *P.Bas.* 18, 5-8 Τιθοῆς ἦλθεν <ε>ῖς Θ[ε]ρ[ε]ν[οῦ]θιν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ <ε>ῖς Λητοῦς | εὐθέως γεινόμεθα, ἵνα ἐκεῖ | ἐργασώμεθα (“...so we’ll work there”), in *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 18-21 γράψω | γάρ σοι ε[ὐ]θέως μετὰ τὸν περισπανμὸν τοῦ|τον {ε}[ῖ]να μὴ περὶ τῶν σοὶ διαφερόντων | φροντί[σ]η[ς] (“...so that you may not be anxious concerning your affairs”), in *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 279, 9-11 εὐθέως οὖν μνησθήσῃ αὐτῷ ἵνα ἐνκατέλθῃ<sup>98</sup> (“...so he comes here”), in *P.Oxy.* III 533, 5-6 εὐθέως<sup>99</sup> δημοσιώσατε αὐτὰ πρὸ τοῦ | Φαῶφ[ι] ἵνα μὴ ἐκπρόθεσμα γένηται (“...so they don’t expire”), in *P.Berl. Möller* 9, 3-6 εὖ ποιήσεις ε[ὐ]θέως κομισάμενος | τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παραγενάμενος | [ε]ῖς τὸ λογισ[τ]ήριον, ὅπως καταχωρίσ[η]ς | τὰ ἐνλίποντα βυβλ[ί]α (“...so you’ll file the missing documents”), in *P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14-16 ἀλλὰ εὐθέως ποιήσον | ἀποσταλῆναι ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην δόξωσιν τι μέμφεσθα[ι] (“...so they can’t accuse you for something because of that”), in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 1 [πέ]μψαι εὐθέως τὰ οἰνάρια ἔξω ἵνα βλ[ή]θῃ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον - ca.18 -] (“...so they’re loaded on the boat”), in *P.Ryl.* IV 557, 6-7 εὐθέως δὲ καὶ τὰ γενέθλ[ι]α τοῦ [βα]σιλέως ποῦ δι[έ]γν[ω]κεν ἄγειν καὶ τίτι ἡ[μέ]ραι ὡς τῶν | Αἰγυπτίων ἡ θυσία ἔσται, ὅ[πως] εἰδῶμεν (“...in order that I may know”), and in *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 15-

<sup>96</sup> It should be regularized as ἔκλευκος.

<sup>97</sup> I would suggest that ὑμῖς should be regularized as ὑμᾶς, instead of ὑμεῖς which is done by the editor, since it’s the subject of the following participle, that should be regularized to the accusative case ([ἐτομ]άζοντας maybe). It can’t be in nominative case, since the subject of the verb is σύ.

<sup>98</sup> It should be regularized as ἐγκατέλθῃ.

<sup>99</sup> A full stop should be put here, just before the adverb.

17 καὶ εὐθέως μοι | διαπέμψατε ὅπως κἀγὼ προσέλθω | τῷ μείζονι (“...so that I also contact the higher authority”). The subordinate clause always follows the adverb. The prerequisite of the immediate action is stated by the use of the main clause. This syntax is equivalent to the structure which places the adverb inside a conditional subordinate clause, where the prerequisite of the immediate action is stated by the use of the subordinate conditional clause. Both structures are possible, but the placement of the adverb inside a conditional clause is not so frequent.

**The adverb in a clause before or after a temporal clause or participle.** In *O.Claud.* I 174, 11-13 περὶ δὲ τοῦ | χαλκοῦ ἄλλοτε ἔγραψα ὅτι εὐθέως ἔαν | πωλήσω (l. πωλήσω) κριθήν, πέμψο (l. πέμψω) (“when I sell the corn”) the function of the clause is mainly temporal, since the possibility that the corn remains unsold is not actually the one expected to prevail. Otherwise, the sender would not try to sell it in the first place.

Parallel to this use of the adverb is the examples where the adverb is repeated after the temporal clause. In *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 38-40 ἐργασίαν δὲ δώσω εὐθέως ἔαν ἄρξῃται ὁ ἡγεμὼν διδόναι κομμεᾶτον, | εὐθέως ἐλθ<ε>ῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς (“as soon as the prefect begins to grant furloughs”), which is a very complicated case, it seems that the adverb replaces the temporal conjunction, by which the clause is introduced, and this the reason why the adverb is repeated later in the main clause. This case resembles the ones, where a temporal clause is introduced by a conditional conjunction, and precedes the adverb. However, it differs from them both in the word order, as the adverbial clause here follows εὐθέως, and in the repetition of the adverb. The introductory phrase is equivalent to the phrases εὐθὺς ὡς ἂν and εὐθέως ὡς ἂν τάχιστα (see Litinas 2004, 286-287). In that case, the second occurrence of εὐθέως is redundant, since there were going to be two instances of the adverb in the same clause, and modifying the same constituent. A close parallel is provided by *SB* VI 9121, 2-3 εὐθέως ἂν σοι | ἔλθῃ ἢ [ἐ]πιστολή, εὐθέως παραγείνου<sup>100</sup> (“as soon as the letter happens to reach you, come immediately”), in which there are also two occurrences of the adverb, discussed by Litinas (2013, 309; see also Litinas 2004, 286-287).

The most striking difference between the use of the adverbs εὐθέως and ταχέως is that the former can be preceded or followed by a temporal clause or participle. It is usually found near participles, but there is one example, in which it occurs before a temporal subordinate clause introduced by πρίν<sup>101</sup>. In another example, *P.Strasb.* IV 193, 3-8 πάντῃ<sup>102</sup> πάντως [ . . .

<sup>100</sup> It should be regularized as παραγίνου. The same applies to the same verb in l. 10 of the same papyrus.

<sup>101</sup> *SB* XXVI 16563, 11-13 [ --- ] ρνα κοτύλας κατὰ κ. . . τῆς | [ --- ] πᾶσχητε ἀλλὰ εὐθέως ἀπαιτῶ | [ --- ] ς πρίν ἢ χ(όεσ) ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ἀνασπάων (before he comes to pull up something).

. . . ] | ἐπιστόλιον εὐ[θέως κά]|τελθε ποτίσω[ν τὸ] | κληρίον πρὶν [ἢ τὸ ὕ]δωρ σταθῆ ἔν [διώ]|ρρυγι, it follows a temporal participle (“...when you receive the letter...”), and precedes a temporal clause introduced by πρὶν (“...before the water is halted in the canal”) at the same time. More frequently the adverb εὐθέως follows the temporal subordinate clause, as in *BGU* III 821, 6-7 ὅταν ἦν (l. ἦ) τι κ\αι/νότερον | εὐθέως σοι δηλ[ώ]σω (“when something new happens”), in *P.Alex.Giss.* 44, 3-5 ὡς ἔγραψάς μοι περὶ τοῦ λογαρειδίου τῶν | δεδαπανημένων, εὐθέως σοι ἔπεμψα | τρία ψιάθα (“when you wrote me about the account of the expenses...”), in *P.Mich.* VIII 490, 11-12 ἐπὶν διαταγῶ καὶ γνῶ <ε>ἰς ποίαν | <ε>ἴμι εὐθέως σοι δηλῶ (“when I have been assigned and know where I am going...”), in *P.Oxy.* IV 839 ὡς ἐνανάγησεν κατὰ Πτολεμαΐδα καὶ ἦλθέ μοι γυμνὸς κεκινδυνευκῶς. εὐθέως ἠγόρασα αὐτῷ στολήν (“when he casted away and came to me naked, after being in danger...”<sup>103</sup>), and in *P.Ryl.* II 244, 5-9 ὡς ἔγραψάς μοι περὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου ἵνα | βιβλείδια ἀναδῶμεν, εὐθέως | ἔμαθον παρὰ Εὐτυχ[ι]ανοῦ ὅτι | ἀνεδόθη (“when you wrote me about your sister, in order that we give documents...”). It can be easily observed that there is a variety of temporal conjunctions that can introduce a clause, when it precedes εὐθέως. In *P.Oxy.* VIII 1155, 2-7 γινώσκ<ε>ἰν σε [θέ]λω ἔτι (l. ὅτι) εὐθὺς ἐπιβέβη|κα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρην, εὐθέως ἐμέλ<η>κε ἐμοὶ περὶ | τοῦ πράγ{α}ματος οὔ με ἠ|ρώτηκες, which is a special case, the temporal clause (“as soon as I came to Alexandria...”) is introduced by the adverb εὐθὺς alone, as the use of the particle ἄν, of the construction εὐθὺς ἄν, is not allowed by the perfect indicative<sup>104</sup>. In *P.Cair.Zen* II 59155 both possible structures involving a temporal modifier near εὐθέως are attested. In ll. 2-3 ὡς ἂν οὖν ἐχθερίσης τὸν πρόιον σῖτον, | εὐθέως πότισον τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ χερρός (“after harvesting the early corn...”) a temporal subordinate clause precedes the adverb, while in l. 6 καταψύξας εὐθέως | κατάσπειρε τὸν τρίμηνον πυρόν (“when you dry the land...”) the adverb follows a temporal participle. What is illustrated by this example is that a writer could use any possible structure convenient, and even switch between preferred structures at different points in the same letter.

The adverb is found after a temporal participle in *SB* III 6299, 1-3 λαβῶ(ν) μου | τὸ ἐπιστόλιον τοῦτο, εὐθέως ἀνάβα πρὸς | ἐμέ (“when you receive this letter...”), in *SB* XXVI 16808, 10-12 λαβῶν | δὲ [ταῦ]τά μου τὰ γράμματα εὐθέως | ἄν[ελ]θε (“when you receive my

<sup>102</sup> A full stop should be put, just before the adverb πάντη, since it follows the greeting formula, and it is in fact the first word of the message. At the end of this line, just after the adverb πάντως, the words [λαβῶν τὸ] should be supplied (see Litinas 2004, 287).

<sup>103</sup> The full stop just before the adverb should be replaced by a comma (see Litinas 2004, 286).

<sup>104</sup> Perhaps, something like a construction of the adverb εὐθὺς and the conjunction ὅτε was what the sender of the letter meant to write here. Anyway, the temporal conjunction is either replaced, or omitted, but it isn't easily understood.

letters...”), in *O.Did.* 343, 4-10 λαβὼν τὸ ὄστρακον παρὰ | τοῦ ζυμακταρίου τούτου ἐν ἧ μοι  
 γρά|φεις κεχρηῆσται Κοδράτω (δραχμάς) ξ εἰς οἶκον | ὁμοῦ πίνοντες, εὐθέως ἔγραψα καὶ |  
 ἔπεμψά σοι ἀντιφώνησιν διὰ τῶν κα|μηλιτῶν τῶν μετὰ τῶν κιβαρίων | ἀναβεβηκότων (“when  
 I received the ostracon...”), in *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59204, 4-6 διακούσας γὰρ τῶν τε ἔξ  
 Ἡφαιστιάδος | λαῶν καὶ Ἀμμενέως εὐθέως ἀν[α]κάμψε[ι] | πρὸς ἡμᾶς (“when he hears about  
 the men of Hephestias and Ammeneus...”), in *P.Flor.* II 187, 7-11 ὄψη κομισάμενος | τὸ  
 ἐπιστόλιον | εὐθέως μοι πέμψις τὰ δύο κεράμι[α] | τῶν κα\π/πάρεων ἰδ[ -ca.?- ] (“when you  
 receive the letter...”), in *P.Sarap.* 84 a, 9-10 λαβὼν | δὲ εὐθέως πέμψω (“when I receive  
 [it]...”), in *PSI XV* 1553, 3-5 λαβόντες σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον ἐγενόμεθα | εὐ[θ]έως ἡμεῖς τε καὶ  
 οἱ φίλοι περὶ | τὸ διαφέρον σοι πρᾶγμα (“when we received your letter...”), in *SB VI* 9616,  
 9-11 γνῶναι δὲ βούλομαι τὸν ἐμὸν [δεσ]πότην, ὅτι φθάσαντος | τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου  
 ἰλλουστρί[ου] Ταυρίνου εἰς τὴν Ἀντινόου εὐθέως ἀπῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν | [εἰ]ς προσκύνησιν  
 (“when the glorious illustrious Taurinos arrived in Antinoopolis...”), in *P.Köln* II 107, 3-6  
 λαβὼν μου τὰ γράμ[μα]τα | εὐθέως γενοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ | εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν | ἧ εἰς τ]ὴν  
 Ἀραβ[ίαν.] (“when you receive my letters...”), in *SB VI* 9415 (23), 3-4 ἐντυχὼν . [ -ca.?- ] | [ .  
 ]σον εὐθέ[ως -ca.?- ] (“when you meet somebody...”<sup>105</sup>), in *O.Did.* 434, 3-5 ἐπιμεληθεῖς τοῦ  
 ἵππου, εὐθέ[ως] | πρὸς σὲ σπεύδ[ω] (“when I take care of the horse...”), in *P.Bingen* 121, 11-  
 12 δεξάμενοι οὖν{ . } τὰ γράμματα τῆς θεοσέβ<ε>ϊαν σου | εὐθέως ἐσυνεχωρήσαμεν αὐτόν  
 (“when we received the letters...”), in *P.Giss.* I 70, 3-6 ἡ ἀναγραφή τετραγώνου κατέσχεν |  
 ἡμ[ᾶς] μέχρι ὥρας ἕκ[τ]ης ἧς ἀπαρτισθείσης εὐθέως [ἐπ]ορεύθη εἰς τ[ὸ]ν | ὄρμ[ο]ν (“when  
 the sixth hour was completed...”), and in *P.Lond.* III 897, 5 {ε}ἵνα παραγενάμεν[ο]ς εὐθέως  
 πάλ[ε]ιν ἐπήριά μοι γένη[τ]αι (“when I went there...”) and 23-25 παρακαλῶ δέ σε {ε}ἵνα  
 μὴ με|λανήσης δι[ὰ τ]ῆς ἐπιστολῆς κ[α]ὶ π[α]ραγενάμενος ε[ὐ]θέως | [ (“when you come  
 here...”). *P.Strasb.* VII 652, 67-69 μέμνησαι γὰρ κύριε | πῶς ἐλθῶ[ν] εὐθέως ἀπὸ Ἀρσινοίτου  
 ἀνήνεγκ[α] σοι περὶ τῶν δραχμ(ῶν) provides a similar case, although the word order is  
 unusual and confusing. The adverb follows the temporal participle, but precedes a  
 prepositional structure, which is construed with the participle. The impression given is that  
 the adverb should be part of the syntax of the participle, since cruciform structures are at least  
 unusual, if not impossible. The meaning of the passage varies, depending on how the words  
 are paired together. Either the recipient of the letter reported to the sender about the  
 drachmas, after he came from Arsinoites at once, or he reported to the sender about the  
 drachmas at once, as soon as he came from Arsinoites. The latter is most probably a more

<sup>105</sup> This participle could be conditional, but, since there are no other attestations of conditional participles near εὐθέως, I think that this is not the case, and I consider it to be temporal.

interesting piece of information for the sender. He wouldn't care about how fast the arrival of the recipient of the letter was, if he didn't report to him about the matter at once. Therefore, the only explanation of the confusing word order, that I can think of, is that this is a scribal mistake, and the adverb should be considered to modify the verb ἀνήνεγκα.

*P.Oxy.* XVI 1829 provides a special case, in which the adverb precedes the temporal participle in ll. 4-6 ὅτι οὐκ ἡμελήθη | [ἡ] κέλευσις ὑμῶν ἀλλ' ἐπληρώθη εὐθέως αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου | [ἄρ]χοντος καταλαβόντος), and follows it in ll. 15-17 [ὅ]τι τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) ἄρχοντος καταλαβόντος εὐθέως ἢ κέλευσις ὑμῶν | ἐγένετο καὶ ε[ἰ μ]ὴ ὡς ἐβουλήθητε καὶ ἐπετρέψατε οὐκ ἀντεφωνήθη | ὁ πρακτῆρ, τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐχρησάμην. The meaning of the participle is exactly the same in both clauses (“when the magnificent magistrate commands so”), and the word order is just a matter of stylistic preference. What is really special in this letter is that ll. 4-6 provides the one of the only two attestations of a temporal participle following both the adverb εὐθέως and the modified constituent. The other one is provided by *P.Warr.* 14, 30-34 κὲ (I. καί) οὕτως κομίσητε τὰ | γράμματα, κὲ (I. καί) εὐθέως | ἀναπέμψε μοι, τῆς δὲ | γυνεκὸς (I. γυναικός) ἐφιδούσης αὐ|τῆς τὴν ὑπογραφὴν (“...when the woman sees the document”). In all the other cases the participle either precedes the adverb and the modified constituent, or is placed between them.

In the Roman period a tendency to place the temporal subordinate clause or participle between the adverb and the modified constituent arose<sup>106</sup>. Most of the examples of this kind of syntax<sup>107</sup>, which became obsolete almost suddenly in the early Byzantine period, are explored in detail by Litinas (2004, 285-287). In *P.Oxy.* X 1291, 3-8 οὐδ[εἰς μοι ἦνεγκεν | ἐπιστολὴν περὶ ἄρτων, | ἀλλ' εὐθέως, ἢ ἔπεμψας διὰ Κολλούθου | ἐπιστολὴν, {ε}ἰδοῦ ἀρ|τάβητι σοι γίνεται the adverb ὕστερον should be supplemented after εὐθέως, and the comma should be deleted (see Litinas 2014, 193), so that it is made clear that the temporal clause (“after you sent the letter by Kollouthos”) is placed between the adverb and the modified constituent. In *PSI* VII 822, 11-16 ἐξερχόμεθα ἐπὶ τὸν | κληῖρον καθῆσθαι μέχρι οὗ

<sup>106</sup> *PSI* V 514, 8-9 (251 B.C.) εὐθέως δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενα κατάπεμψον τὰ ἐπι|σταλέντα εἰς τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ βασιλέως belongs to the Ptolemaic period. The use of the temporal participle (when they have them) between the adverb and the modified constituent isn't related anyhow to the use that became popular in the Roman period. Here it's either coincidental, or mistaken, since the syntax is odd.

<sup>107</sup> *P.Oxy.* X 1291, 3-8 (A.D. 30); *P.Berl. Möller* 9, 3-6 (A.D. 45); *P.Col.* VIII 212, 3-7 (A.D. 49); *BGU* III 844, 3-6 (A.D. 83); *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14-18 (late I A.D.); *P.Heid.* II 211, 3-9 (I-II A.D.); *P.Mert.* II 83, 20-24 (late II A.D.); *PSI* XV 1540, 2-9 (late II A.D.); *W.Chr.* 480, 6-10 (II A.D.); *P.Laur.* IV 187, 2-5 (II A.D.); *P.Lund.* II 2, 3-5 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3988, 3-7 (II A.D.); *P.Sel. Warga* 12, 7-11 (II A.D.); *PSI* VII 822, 11-16 (II A.D.); *O.Leid.* 329, 3-7 (II-III A.D.); *SB* XIV 12026, 5-12 (II-III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXXVII 5112, 3-6 (c. A.D. 212-246); *P.Flor.* II 171, 2-6 (A.D. 255); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1 (c. A.D. 258-260); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 26-29 (c. A.D. 270); *BGU* IV 1030, 2-5 (middle III A.D.); *P.Hamb.* II 192, 3-5 and 6-8 (III A.D.); *PSI* VIII 970, 3-7 (III A.D.); *P.Oslo* II 62, 3-6 (first half of IV A.D.); *P.NYU* I 25, 9-12 (IV A.D.).

τὴν | φάσιν ἡμ{ε}ῖν ἐνέγκης \σήμερον/ εὐθέως· | ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐξέστηκα τοὺς | ἀνθρώπους  
καὶ ἐξῆλθον διαν[. . . .] | ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ the punctuation should be reconsidered,  
as pointed out by Litinas (2004, 286). A full stop should be put just before εὐθέως, and the  
semicolon just after it should be dropped. Thus, a temporal participle (“when I heard these  
things”) would be found between the adverb and the modified constituent. In *P.Ross.Georg.*  
III 2, 6-9 κα[λ]ῶς οὖν πο[ι]ή[σ]εις, μήτηρ, · λαβοῦσα | ἡμῶν [τ]ὰ [γ]ράμματα · καὶ εὐθέως  
<ε>ἰσελθοῦσα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, · γινώσκου|σα ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός μου Μάρκος · ἐν προλήμψ<ε>ι ἐστὶν  
πολλῇ τῇ περὶ τοὺς κ[ά]μμοντας καὶ τὸ ἰατρ<ε>ῖον (“when you receive the letters”) the  
adverb is placed after the temporal participle, while in ll. 26-29 of the same letter διὸ οὖν, |  
μήτηρ, ὡς φρονίμη γυνή, λαβοῦσα ὑμῶν τὰ γράμματα · | ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄρποκρᾶ, · εὐθέως  
οἰκονομήσασα τὰ σεαυτῆς, · | τὴν φροντίδα τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ποιοῦ (“when you put your cases  
in an order”) the participle lies between the adverb and the modified constituent. So, a Roman  
writer could place the adverb and the temporal modifiers in any order he found convenient.

There are some letters, in which a combination of two subordinate clauses of different  
kind can be found near the adverb εὐθέως. In *P.Heid.* II 211, 3-7 εὐθέως λαβὼν τὸ  
ἐπι|στόλιον κατάντησον πρὸς | με ἀναγκαίως, ἵνα συμβάλῃς τῷ κωμογραμματεῖ | τῶν ἐνθάδε  
(“so you will help the *komogrammateus* there”) one temporal participle (“when you receive  
the letter”) and one subordinate clause of purpose (“so you’ll help the *komogrammateus*  
there”) follow. This is the only combination, which is attested twice, since it’s also found in  
*P.Mert.* II 83, 20-24 εὐθέως οὖν λαβὼν | τὴν ἐπιστολὴν (“when you receive the letter”)   
μετάγραφον ἡμεῖν, ἐμοὶ καὶ Θερ|μουθίῳ, ἐμοὶ μὲν, ἵνα μάθω ἢ\ν/ ποι|η/ις μου τὴν | φροντίδα,  
Θερμουθίῳ δέ, ἵνα οὐ̄ ἐὰν χρήζῃς | μὴ ὑστερήσῃς (“so I’ll know if you attend my business,  
and so you won’t delay, if you need Thermouthis”). All the other combinations are attested  
only once. In *CPR XIV* 52, 14-15 εὐθέως ἵνα ποιήσω τὴν χρεῖαν, ἐπειδ[ὴ οὐκ ἐστὶ -ca.?- ] |  
κέρδος τοῦ πράγματος \τούτου/ εἰς σέ αν. . [ . . ] . εἰ one subordinate clause of purpose (“in  
order to cover the needs”) and one of reason (“because there is no gain out of it”) follow. In  
*O.Claud.* II 290, 6-8 ἔδει σέ μοι εὐθέως | γράψαι δι’ αὐτοῦ ἵν’ αὐτὸν ἀπαιτήσω, | καὶ οὐχ ὅτε  
ἀπῆλθε one subordinate clause of purpose (“in order to demand from him”) and one of time  
(“when he left”) follow. In *P.Laur.* IV 187, 20-22 ἐπεὶπερ γείνονται<sup>108</sup> εἰς Ἀμμ[ωνιακή]ν,  
[εὐ]θέως ἀπέλυσσα Ὀφέλλιον ἐκεῖ ἵν[α] μοι τὸ ἡμ[ι]στ[υ] τ[ῶ]ν καμ[ή]λων ἐνέγκῃ one  
subordinate clause of time precedes (“when they came to Ammoniake”), and one of purpose  
follows (“in order to bring half of the camels”). In *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 219, 2-5

<sup>108</sup> It should be regularized as γίνονται.



κ[αταγ]ραφέντων(?) ἀμπελι[κῶν] εὐθέως μοι [. . .] χορ[. . .] | [ἀπόπε]μψον, ἐπε[ὶ] χρ[ε]ία | [ἐστὶ γ]εωργεῖν a temporal participle precedes (“when the taxes on vineyards are recorded in a register”), and one subordinate clause of reason follows (“because it is necessary that I cultivate [them]”). In *P.NYU* I 25, 9-12 [εα] εὖν | δὲ μὴ πέμψης τῇ ὀρισμένη ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν, | καθὼς περ μοι συνετάξω, εὐθέως τῆς ἡμέρας | τῆς ἀλλαγῆς καταλαβούσης ἀπαντήσω πρὸς σέ, one conditional subordinate clause (ed. transl. “if you do not send the shift on the appointed day as you arranged with me, as soon as the day of the shift arrives I will come to you”) precedes, and one temporal participle (“when the shift takes place”) follows. Lastly, in *SB* VI 9285, 11-12 καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνόμισα τα[ῦ]τα μαθὼν εὐθέως γράψαι ὥστε μὴ συ[χ]ωρῆσαι τοὺς ζυγοστάτας | παρὰ τὸ ἔ[θο]ς διαστρέψαι τινά, ἵνα μὴ τῇ αἰτία ταύτῃ τινὰ ἀπομείνη one temporal participle (“when I learned these things”), and a concession subordinate clause (“so that I will not let the public weighers distort anything contrary to the custom”) follows<sup>109</sup>.

**The adverb combined with temporal prepositional structures.** Other structures, which were used so as the time could be more accurately defined, can be observed near the adverb εὐθέως. These structures include the prepositional structure κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ὥρα, which is connected to the adverb by a coordinating conjunction<sup>110</sup>, other prepositional structures, like πρὸ τοῦ Φαῶφι (*P.Oxy.* III 533, 5), μετ’ ἀφιξίν σου (*P.Mich.* VIII 497, 11), and μετὰ τὴν ἑορτήν (*P.Oxy.* III 530, 30), other adverbs, like νῦν (*P.Tebt.* II 422, 22), ἅμα and ἐχθές (*P.Mich.* VIII 490, 12), and πρωί (*PSI* IV 402, 10), a temporal genitive, like ὄρθρου (*P.Warr.* 17, 9), and even the relative clause εἰς ὃν καιρὸν | ἐγράψαμεν ἐν ταῖς πρότερον ἐπιστολαῖς (*PSI* V 514, 9-10). The prepositional structures and the adverbs that are not connected to εὐθέως by a coordinating conjunction should be considered to belong to the same syntactic branch as εὐθέως, and are used in order to clarify the adverb. The same applies to the relative clause of *PSI* V 514, as opposed to the relative clause καθὼς ἔθος ἔχεις in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 19-20, which gives some information about the adverb that is irrelevant with the exact time when the action is due to be performed, and, thus, it does not clarify εὐθέως substantially. Last, in *P.Lond.* VII 1979, 8 the adverbial phrases ὡς ἂν δὲ τάχιστα and ἅμα τῇ ὀραίαι are connected by an asyndetic coordination to the adverb, in order that emphasis is laid on how immediately the described action should be performed.

<sup>109</sup> This is the only occurrence of such an adverbial clause near εὐθέως.

<sup>110</sup> The tautology, which is created by the use of this structure, can be observed only in Byzantine letters, like *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1 (VI-VII A.D.), *P.Oxy.* XVI 1852, 3 (VI-VII A.D.), *P.Oxy.* LVI 3873, 2 (VI-VII A.D.), and *SB* III 7036, 2 (VI-VII A.D.).

### **Corrections.**

The restoration (*exempli gratia*) of the adverb εὐθέως in *P.Lond.* III 897, 25-26 ἀλλά μοι [εὐθέως(?)] | τὴν ἀλήθειαν γράψον should be rejected, because there are no valid grounds for it.

In *P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 17-21 τὸ συνηλιγμένον [δί]πλωμα ἐπαναγκασ[ . . ] | τὸν ἱατρὸν ταχέω[ς] | σφραγίσαι αὐτ[ . . . . ] | ψεις εὐθέως, the verb before the adverb εὐθέως could be restored as [πέμ]ψεις as a modified constituent.

In *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 34-35 ἐὰν οὖν με φιλήῃς εὐθέως ἐργασίαν δώ|σ<ε>ις γράψαι μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου the translation in the *ed. princ.* “if then, you love me, you will straightway take pains to write me concerning your health” is questionable, because it is considered that the adverb modifies the infinitive γράψαι, so as to denote that the sender’s concern is the writing of the letter. If the recipient of the letters took pains immediately, but the writing was delayed, the pains he took would be of no use to the sender. What he really cares about is the writing of the letter, and this is what should be done at once. Thus, the text should be translated as “if then, you love me, you will take pains to write me immediately concerning your health.”

In *P.Worp* 24, 5-6 [ . . ]ζωντιανηηπασαν. . [ . . ] . . εις παρ’ [ύ]μῖν ἡ \γν/ωσκε ροασποιεῖ εἰ[ . . ]ως (l. εὐθέως) γὰρ τὸ μῖσος ὃ ἔχεται πρὸς με. πολλάκις<sup>111</sup> ἐπίστ<ε>ιλα ὑμῖν, and in *P.Petr.* II 13, Fr3, r, 5-10 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις τὴν | ἀπέγδοσιν αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος καὶ δοῦς Διου|σίωι τῶι [ο]ικοδόμωι ὅπως ἐνέργηι εὐθέως γὰρ | ἔξομεν ἐξαγαγόντες καὶ πλέονι τόπ[ω]ι ἀπο|χρήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς παραδεδομένους \νῦν/ δεσ|μώτας [ύ]π’ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ διοικητοῦ a full stop should be put just before the adverbs, so that they are the first words of the sentence, leaving the second place to the conjunction γὰρ.

### **Εὐκαίρως**

The adverb εὐκαίρως is found in official documents, such as lease and employment contracts and in petitions. With the meaning “seasonably, opportunely” (see LSJ s.v. εὐκαιρος IV) it is attested many times in the Zenon archive. It modifies participles or verbs and it is always placed after them. See *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59508, 5 (258-256 B.C.) καλῶς ἂν οὔ ποιήσῃς |

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<sup>111</sup> If the case is that a new sentence is introduced by εὐθέως, the full stop before the adverb πολλάκις should be deleted. Otherwise, there wouldn’t be any main clause between the two full stops. In any case, the meaning is very obscure, and the constituent modified by εὐθέως is uncertain. Even the restoration of εὐθέως could be doubted. This letter was taken into consideration in this research as a letter containing εὐθέως, but it was not included in the discussion about the verbs that can be modified by the adverb, or in any other discussions, except for the one about the dates of the letters.

προσε[νέγ]κας εὐκαίρως | καὶ δεί[ξι]ας ἐξελὼν ἐπὶ | πίνακ[ι], it modifies the participle (?) προσενέγκας; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59038, 25-28 (before 257 B.C.), ἕως | ἂν Ἀπολλώνιον ἡμεῖς ἀξιῶσωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ λαβόν[τε]ς εὐκαίρως it modifies the participle λαβόντες; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59046, 6-10 (257 B.C.) it is found twice ἵνα περὶ ὧν ἀποδεδήμηκεν | πρὸς σὲ ἐντύχηι σαυτῶι | εὐκαίρως. καλῶς ἂν οὖν | ποιήσαις δοῦς αὐτῶι | σαυτὸν εὐκαίρως, modifying the verb ἐντύχηι and the participle δοῦς. For the second instance in l. 10, LSJ s.v. considers it to have the meaning “favourably, propitiously”, but it seems that in both cases the meaning is “seasonably”; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59064 (257 B.C.) is a very fragmentary business letter. The adverb εὐκαίρως is found in l. 10, but the modified constituent is not preserved. It is likely that a form of the verb λαμβάνω (or another verb which should be opposite to ἀπεδώκαμεν of l. 11) is lost in the end of l. 9; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 22, 9 (257 B.C.) ὅπως | αἰ λοιπαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ αἰ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀποδοθῶσι Ἀπολλ[ω]νίωι εὐκαίρως, where it modifies the verb ἀποδοθῶσι; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59498, 13-15 (middle III B.C.) δοθῆναί μοι τὴν | σιτομετρίαν καὶ τὸ ὄψώνιον | εὐκαίρως, ἵνα σοι τὰς χρείας παρέσ[χ]ωμαι, it modifies the infinitive δοθῆναι, and a subordinate clause of purpose follows.

Based on the latter example, there is also another wording, where the adverb is placed between a phrase that means “you do well to” and a subordinate clause of purpose: *P.Lond.* VII 1943, fr. B, 3-13 (before 257 B.C.), καλ[ῶ]ς ἂν οὖν ποι[ο]ήσαις | καὶ σὺ λα[αβ]ῶν... | τῆ[ν] ἐπιστολὴν... |... ἀπο[δο]ῦς εὐκαίρως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συν[σ]πεύσας φιλοτιμῶς..., ὅπως ἂν | ἐν τάχει τε γραφῆι καὶ ἵνα τὸ | πρῶτον αὐτῶι γένηται, καὶ | φανερόν αὐτῶι ποιήσας ὅτι καὶ σὺ | σπεύδεις περὶ ὧν ἂν σοι γραφῆι, where the adverb modifies the participle ἀποδοῦς, and two subordinate clauses of purpose follow; *P.Lond.* VII 1944, 4-6 (before 257 B.C.) χαριεῖ οὖν μο[ι] ἀποδοῦς | εὐκαίρως καὶ φιλοτιμηθεὶς ἵνα συντάξῃ ποστὴν ἐπιγράφει<v> | ἐκατέραν, where it modifies the participle ἀποδοῦς; *P.Lond.* VII 1969, 2-7 (before 255 B.C.) καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαις ἀποδοῦς Ἀπολλωνίωι | τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εὐκαίρως, ἵνα καὶ γράψῃ οἷς | δεῖ περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων, where it modifies the participle ἀποδοῦς.

The situation in *PSI* V 502, 3 (257 B.C.) καὶ ὡς ἂν | ποτε εὐκαίρως ὑπολαμβάνῃς Ἀπολλώνιον ὑπομῆσαι ὑπὲρ ὧν σοι καὶ ἐμ Μέμφει τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἔδωκα is different. The adverb modifies the verb ὑπολαμβάνῃς, but it is placed before the verb, probably because of ποτέ. In *P.Col.* III 12, 3 (before 257 B.C.) περὶ τοῦ γινομέ[νου] ὄψωνίου Ἑρμίπ[ω]ι | τῶι ἀδελφῶι καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαις φροντίσας ὅ[πως] --- ] | Ἑρμίπ[ω]ου εὐκαίρως ἀποδοθῆι Ἀπολλωνίωι κα[τὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον] | αὐτῶι πρόσταγμα πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν οἰκονόμ[ον] - -- ], the adverb seems to precede and modify the verb ἀποδοθῆι. However, it is likely that in



corresponds to the following temporal adverbs νῦν (l. 5) and ἔτι καὶ νῦν (l. 7). The meaning of πρώτως is “in the first instance” (as in *ed. princ.*) and “above all others in time and importance”. The same sense is traced in two other instances: In *P.Oxy.* X 1345 (late II-III A.D.) οὐκ ἴσχυσα ἐλθεῖν σήμερον. πρώτως ποιοῦμεν ψωμία, ἀνέρχομαι δὲ τῇ ἰδ, the adverb modifies the present indicative ποιοῦμεν and means “above all others in time and importance” or “the first reason” is that we make bread. In *P.Oxy.* LV 3813, 19-20 (III-IV A.D.) πρώτως ποιη[ . . . . ]. ομιλω. ος αὐτόν, the adverb modifies a form of the verb ποιῶ, most probably an aorist imperative ποιήσον or aorist participle ποιήσας or a future indicative ποιήσεις. The adverb lies right before the modified constituent, and although the following text is fragmentary it seems to mean “firstly, to begin with”.

### Πυκνῶς

It is found in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 9, 18-19 (late IV A.D.) ἵνα προτρέψῃ με ἐν τούτῳ πυκνῶς τῇ λογιότητί | σου γράφιν ἐξερῆτως περὶ τῆς ὑγίας σου with the meaning “frequently”. It precedes and modifies the infinitive γράφειν, as a variant phrase of the συνεχῶς γράφε περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου formula. However, in the Ptolemaic and Roman papyri the comparative πυκνότερον is used: see *BGU* XVI 2642, 4-5 (30 B.C.- A.D. 14) εἰς τό με μὴ πυκνότερά | σοι γεγραφ[ ε ] \ηκέ/ναι; *SB* XII 10927, 4-5 (30 B.C.- A.D. 14) διὸ ἀξιῶ | γράφειν μοι πυκνότερον; *O.Krok.* I 93, 3-4 (A.D. 108-115) πυκνότερόν μου (l. μοι) γράψον περὶ τῆς ὑγ<ε>ίας σου; *P.Mich.* VIII 484, 6-7 (II A.D.) ἐὰν μὴ μοι πυκνότερα γράφῃς | τὰ κατὰ [σ]έ; *P.Lond.* VI 1929, 6-7 (VI A.D.) παρακαλῶ οὖν πυκνο|[τέ]ρωσ ἡμῶν μνήσθη[τι]; also it is used in another context “come frequently” in *P.Ryl.* IV 671, 2-4 (II B.C.?) πυ|κνότερον παρ[α]γ[ε]νόμε|νον.

### Σπανίως

Its meaning “rarely, seldom” is found only in the private letter *P.Oxy.* LIX 4002, 3-4 (IV-V A.D.) πολλὰς ἀποστέλλων ἐπιστολὰς διὰ πολλοῦ μόλις \τὰ/ παρὰ σ[ο]ῦ | πεμπόμενα γ[ράμμ]ατα κομίζ[ο]μαι, ἃ σπανίως ἀποστέλλ[ε]ις. It precedes and modifies the present indicative ἀποστέλλεις. The contrast between πολλὰς ... διὰ πολλοῦ and μόλις ... σπανίως underlines the complaint of the sender providing a stingy note.

### Συνεχῶς

The adverb is found in very few public documents (mainly petitions) to mean “ceaselessly” or “repeatedly”, but in the private letters it is used in a variety of ways.

First, only once it is used to mean something that occurs ceaselessly, without stopping over a defined period of time: *P.Giss.* I 19, 5-9 (A.D. 115) οὔτε πο[ . . . ο]ὔτε [σε]ιτίως ἠδέως προσέρχομαι, | [ἀλλὰ συν]εχῶς ἀγρυπνοῦσα νυκτὸς ἢ[μῆρας μ]ίαν μέριμναν ἔχω τὴν περὶ | [τῆς σωτ]ηρίας σου. The phrase is written by Aline to Apollonios strategos and the adverb precedes and modifies the participle ἀγρυπνοῦσα. Obviously, although with hyperbole, the meaning is “continuously”, “my only concern, and that’s why I stay always awake, is your well-being”, and it finds a parallel example in Johannes Chr. *PG* 49, 31 ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ λησταὶ οὐκ ἔνθα χόρτος καὶ ἄχυρα καὶ καλάμη, ἀλλ’ ἔνθα χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον, ἐκεῖ διορύττουσι, καὶ συνεχῶς ἀγρυπνοῦσιν; cf. also a literal use in Galenus, vol. 17b, p. 650 (Kühn) οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντες συνεχῶς ἀγρυπνοῦσι.

In addition, the adverb is used to indicate an action that occurs repeatedly over a defined period of time. In *BGU* II 451, 15-18 (I-II A.D.) Νεῖλο[ς] δὲ συνεχῶς πρὸς Δημήτριον | [τ]ὸν βοηθ[όν] μ[ου] πορευέσθω, ἵνα μη[[δ]ὲν ἀνε[υ τῆς] σῆς γνώμης ὁ Δημή[τριος - c. 9 letters -]ς παρα[ . . . ]ται, the adverb modifies the verb πορευέσθω (imperative), and the verb precedes the adverb. It means “occurring repeatedly over a defined period of time”. The subordinate clause of purpose follows, and explains the reasons of the necessity of this συνεχῶς, therefore, the adverb modifies not only the verb, but also the clause. Then, in *P.Oxy.* XLI 2982, 15-16 (II-III A.D.) συνεχῶς δὲ γείνου εἰς ἀγρὸν ἕνεκεν τῶν ὑδάτων, the adverb precedes and modifies the verb γίνου.

In many instances, the adverb suggests, with hyperbole, that an action occurs endlessly, since it is clear from the context that this action only repeatedly may happen. See *PSI* XIV 1414, 17-19 (II A.D.) τὸν | υἱόν μου Διονυσάμμωνα | συνεχῶς ὄρα ὡς διάγει, the adverb modifies the imperative of the verb ὀρῶ; *PSI* IV 299, 17 (late III A.D.) τὰ πάντα συνεχῶς τοῦ θεοῦ δέε[σ]θαι, it modifies the infinitive δέεσθαι. In *P.Lond.* VI 1928, 9-11 (middle IV A.D.) εὐχομαι ἐπὶ πολὺν | χρόνον εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ συνε[χ]ῶς, the adverb follows and modifies the participle εὐχόμενον. In *P.Kell.* I 74, 27-28 (IV A.D.) καὶ ἐνοχλεῖ μοι συνεχῶς ὡς σοῦ | χρεωστόσεως αὐτῷ, the adverb follows and modifies the verb ἐνοχλεῖ (present indicative). A subordinate clause of reason follows and explains subjectively the reason of the disturbance itself, and not of the frequency of the disturbance, that is, “somebody annoys me all the time, because he claims that you owe him some money”.

However, the adverb is mainly used in the the formula γράφειν συνεχῶς at the beginning of the letters, where the sender asks the receiver to write him συνεχῶς about his health or about his needs or actions. The adverb is usually placed immediately after the form of the main verb παρακαλῶ and precedes the verbal form of γράφειν, which is actually

modified. The meaning of the adverb is “at frequent intervals, frequently” (LSJ s.v. συνεχῆς B1c): Concerning health see *P.Flor.* III 332, 18-20 (c. A.D. 114-119) γράφε μοι συνεχῶς περὶ τῆς | ὑγίας ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἔχω παραμύθιον τῆς | προελεύσεώς μου; *PSI* XII 1247, 5-7 (III A.D. - καὶ προτρεπομένη ὑμᾶς γράφειν μοι συνεχῶς περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1864, 8-10 (A.D. 623-624) γράφουσά μοι συνεχῶς | τὴν ὑγίειαν αὐτῆς καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῆ | δοκούντων ἐνταῦθα. Concerning the needs of the receiver see *P.Oxy.* XLI 2984, 7-11 (II-III A.D.) συνεχῶς | μοι γρά[φ]ε διὰ τῶν ἐρχομένων πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ | ὧν ἐὰν χ[ρ]εῖαν ἔχη[ ] \s/ τῶν | ἐνθάδε; *P.Haun.* II 41, 5 (IV A.D.) [---]σαι συνεχῶς μοι γράφε ἂ ἐὰν [θέλης ---]. Both (health and needs) are found in *SB* V 7743, 17-19 (I-II A.D.) περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου συνεχῶς μοι | ἐπίσ[τ]ελλε καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐντεῦθεν | θέλεις; *PSI* III 237, 7-8 (V-VI A.D.) γράφειν δέ μοι συνεχῶς περὶ τε τῆς ἐαυτῆς ὑγίας, | ἥς ἀντὶ πάντων μοί ἐστιν, καὶ περὶ ὧν χρεῖα τῶν ἐνταῦθα.

In LSJ s.v. συχνῶς a reference is made to *P.Giss.Apoll.* 11, 25-26 (A.D. 113-120). In fact, in this papyrus the adverb συ|χ<v>ῶς is restored and corrected to precede and modify the present imperative γράφε. However, in the photo of the papyrus (<http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/pgiss-inv041recto.jpg>) one can see that after the uncertain reading συ at the end of the line there is a lost space which could accommodate two more letters, and therefore, I propose to read συ|νε|χῶς, which is also a standard formula in the papyri.

Furthermore, instead of the verb γράφω, various other synonym verbs or phrases could be used: (a) δηλόω. In *P.Herm.* 11, 2-11 (IV A.D.) the sender asks about both the well-being and the actions of the receiver of the letter, θαυμάζω πῶς | ἐπελάθου τῶν ἐμῶν | ἐντολῶν, ὧν πολλά|κις σοι κατ’ ὄψιν ἐ|νετειλάμην, περὶ τοῦ | συνεχῶς μοι δηλώ|σαι πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τῆς σωτηρ<ι>ας σου, | ἔπειτα περὶ πάντων | ὧν ἔπραξας ἐν Σαρβιτι|τίω, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ μικρῶς | ἀγωνιῶ. (b) ἐπιστέλλω or ἀποστέλλω ἐπιστολήν. See *SB* XVIII 13590, 4-11 (I-II A.D.) ἡδιστά σου κομ[ι]ζομ[έ]νο[ι]ς | τὰ τράμματα (l. γράμματα) μὴ ὄκν[ει] συν|εχέστερον ἐπιστέλλειν, | πρὸ μ[ὲν] πάντων περ[ὶ] τ[ῆ]ς | σῆς ὑγ[ι]είας, ἔπει[τα] περὶ ὧν | χρήσεις ἐντεῦθεν. τ[ο]ῦτὸ γὰρ ποιῶν συνεχῶς | ἡμᾶς [εὐ]φρανεῖς. The adverb follows right after the modified constituent, that is, the conditional participle ποιῶν, which is actually a repetition of the previous συν|εχέστερον ἐπιστέλλειν; *P.Sarap.* 84 a, 13-15 (A.D. 90-133) Ἀμμώνιον συνεχῶς ἀποστέλλω ἐπ[ισ]τολήν μ[ε]τὰ βουλόμενος | καθ’ ὥραν σοι ἐπιστέλλειν, where the adverb precedes and modifies the verb ἀποστέλλω. Similarly, in *P.Haun.* II 16, 7-8 (II-III A.D.) οὐδὲν δὲ ἤττον κοινῆ καὶ νῦν | ἐπιστέλλομέν σοι προτρεπόμενοι σε συν|εχῶς τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμεῖν ποιεῖν, the adverb modifies the infinitive ποιεῖν, which is actually meant to be the act of ἐπιστέλλειν, since the senders ask their father to write to them frequently; cf. also *SB* XIV 11584, 2-6 (late II A.D.) [εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν εἰς] τὴν Ἀντίου ἐκομι|[σά]μην σου τὰ γράμματα δι’

ὦν ἔδοξά | [σ]ε θεω[ρ]εῖν. διὸ παρακαλῶ τὸ αὐτὸ | ποιεῖν σ[υ]νεχῶς, οὕτως γὰρ αὐξηθῆ[σ]ται ἡμῶν ἢ φιλία, which provides a similar case, where the sending of letters is meant with use of the infinitive ποιεῖν. In *P.Kell.* I 63, 11-14 (first half of IV A.D.) ὁμως καὶ τὸ γράμμα | μετρίως εὐφραίνειν ἐπιστάμενοι | ἐπειγόμεθα κ[α]ὶ π[ο]ύτω συνεχῶς χρᾶσθαι, the adverb precedes and modifies the infinitive χρᾶσθαι, which is meant to be the sending of letters, an action that makes people happy. Finally, because of the interpretation of the text in *SB XVIII* 13590, 4-11, the same use can be traced in *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3366, 24 (A.D. 258) ἐπι[στέλλω] σοι, ἄδελφ[ε . . . . .]ε, ταύτ(ην) τρίτ(ην) ἐπιστολ(ήν), [ἴ]ν[α] | με συνε[χ]ῶς εὐφραίνης π[ε]ρὶ τ(ῆς) σωτηρίας σου [ἐπιστελλ] \ἀεὶ γράφ/ων, where the adverb does not modify the verb εὐφραίνης, but the participle ἐπιστέλλων, which was then corrected to ἀεὶ γράφων. This correction makes it clear that συνεχῶς has the same meaning with ἀεὶ. (c) χαράττω. See *SB XX* 15091, 12-13 (VI A.D.) καταξίωσον οὖν | συνεχῶς χαράττειν μοι περὶ τῆς εὐκταιοτάτης ῥώσεως καὶ καταστάσε[ως] τῆς [σ]ῆς ἀρετῆς, where the modified constituent is the infinitive χαράττειν.

However, the use of συνεχῶς is also found in other contexts. In *SB VI* 9616 V, 6-7 (A.D. 550-558) θεὸς οἶδεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὑρεῖν σύμμαχον διὰ τοῦτο συνεχῶς οὐκ εὐρίσκω | γράψαι τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ δεσπότη, the adverb precedes and modifies the phrase οὐκ εὐρίσκω γράψαι about the procedures of a case. In *PSI VII* 742, 9-10 (V-VI A.D.) ἐθαύμασα δὲ πῶς τῷ νομικῷ συνεχῶς | γράφεις, a form of the verb γράφω is modified, but here what matters is a piece of information concerning a trial, and not the routine question between two parties who ask about each others' health and other interpersonal informal interests. In *P.Oxy.* LVI 3871, 7-8 (VI-VII A.D.) διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γράφειν μοι σ[υ]νεχῶς ἀποκαθαρίσαι | τὸν λόγον μου ἔνταῦθα, the adverb follows and modifies the infinitive γράφειν, which includes not only the meaning “to write”, but also “to ask for (something)”.

In addition, in the following examples one could also consider the adverb as modifying the verb παρακαλῶ: *P.Sarap.* 92, 20-22 (A.D. 90-133) ἔρρωσο καὶ παρακληθεῖς | συνεχῶς ἡμεῖν γράφε περὶ τῆ(ς) σωτηρίας σου; *P.Sarap.* 95, 4-6 (A.D. 90-133) παρακαλῶ οὖν σε συνεχῶς ἡμεῖν γράφε | περὶ τῆ(ς) σωτη(ρίας); *P.Ant.* II 95, 2-4 (VI A.D.) παρακαλῶ δὲ α[ὐ]τ[ῆ]ν σ[υ]νεχῶς γράψαι μοι | τὴν ὑγίειαν αὐτῆς... παρακαλῶ δ[ὲ] αὐτὴν ἐὰν | σὺν Θεῷ οὐκ ἀνέλθῃ ἢ [σ]ῆ ἀδελφικὴ δεσποτεία γράψαι μοι τὸ ἐντολικὸν αὐτ[ῆ]ς; *PSI XIV* 1429, 3-4 (VI A.D.) π[α]ρακαλῶ αὐτὴν συνεχῶς | γράφειν μοι τὴν ὑγία[ν] ὑμῶν; *P.Apoll.* 42, 11-12 (A.D. 703-715) παρακαλῶν συνεχῶς γράψαι μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ὑμῶν ὑγίειαν, καὶ περὶ ὧν κελεύετε | τῶν μερῶν τούτων. Based on *P.Mert.* I 22, 6-8 (II A.D.) παρακληθεῖς γράφε | μοι συνεχῶς ἵνα διαγνῶ σε | οὕτως με ἢ[γ]απηκότα, “write to me frequently, so I’ll know that you



love me”, it seems more probable that the adverb modifies the form γράφε, and not παρακληθείς. The same question can be raised in *P.Giss.* I 91, 1-5 (A.D. 113-120) τοῦ ἀδ[ελ]φοῦ μετα[δό]ντος ὅτι μιμνήσκει | ἡμῶν συνεχῶς, παρακα[λῶ σε,] | ἀδελφε, καὶ δι’ [ἐ]πιστολῆς τοῦτ[ό] | μοι φανερόν ποιῆσαι, where the adverb follows and modifies the restored verb μιμνήσκει.

Finally, there are some fragmentary texts, where neither the meaning nor the use of the adverb is clear. In *P.Sarap.* 98, 3-7 (A.D. 90-133) [. . . τυγχά]νεις ἐπιλεησμένος ἡμῶν | [νῦν συνεχ]ῶς οὐδὲν ἥττον σε [[ νῦν] ἀσπά[[ζομαι. συ]νεχέστερον δ’ ἂν ἦν τοῦτο εἰ μὴ | [μετέωρόν τι π]ερὶ τὸ σ[. . .]μα συμβέβηκε) the restored adverb follows and modifies the participle ἐπιλεησμένος. Although the restoration is uncertain, an adverb συνεχῶς is expected in this text, because of the following (but again restored) συ]νεχέστερον. I think that a restored text such as [εἰ καὶ τυγχά]νεις ἐπιλεησμένος ἡμῶν | [συνεχ]ῶς, οὐδὲν ἥττον σε [[ νῦν] ἀσπά[[ζομαι. συ]νεχέστερον δ’ ἂν ἦν τοῦτο εἰ μὴ | [μετέωρόν τι π]ερὶ τὸ σῶμα συμβέβηκε. *P.Strasb.* VI 553, 5 (II A.D. - [ --- ἀπ]ολαβεῖν σε ὑγιαί[[ --- μ]νήσθητ[ι] περὶ | [ --- ] . . του συνεχῶς | [ --- ] . σας ὑγείας is very fragmentary, and we cannot tell whether it modifies the imperative μνήσθητι or the following participle [ --- ] . σας, which is part of the formula of the question about the health. *P.Ammon* I 3, vi 10-12 (A.D. 348) καὶ παραβαλῶ . . . | αὐτῆι συνεχῶς· καὶ μηδὲ ὅλως αὐτὴν ἀθύμω[ς] . . [ --- ]σης, it modifies the verb παραβαλῶ (future indicative) and the adverb follows the verb, but the meaning is not clear because of the fragmentary condition of the text. *SB* XIV 12185, 6 (V-VII A.D.) ]τισαι τοῦ κυρίου μου[ --- ] | [ --- συ]νεχῶς καὶ συμβ[. . .] *P.Apoll.* 46, 2 (A.D. 703-715) ἀλλ[ὰ] σ[υ]ν[ε]χῶς ἠθέλησεν· ἐδέξα\το/ γράμματα, where the adverb is restored, but the syntax is problematic and the meaning of the phrase unclear.

## Συντόμως

The adverb is mainly attested in private letters to modify verbs indicating immediate action. As far as other types of documents are concerned, it is attested in two petitions (*P.Ammon* II 37 and *P.Tarich.* 5), one application (*P.Harrauer* 28) and one list of sacks (*SB* XXII 15246). *BGU* XVI 2646, *P.Ant.* III 188, *P.Hamb.* IV 236, *P.Lille* I 3, *P.Sorb.* III 91, *P.Sorb.* III 96, *P.Tebt.* II 409, *PSI* XV 1570 and *SB* V 8754 are official letters. The adverb is used to indicate manner, “concisely, briefly” and time, “shortly, quickly, immediately” (see *LSJ* s.v. σύντομος II 1 and 2).

The adverb is mainly construed with verbs which denote going or coming, being or sending in some modifying way, like καταλαμβάνω τινά<sup>112</sup>, ἀποτρέχω<sup>113</sup>, ἀνακάμπτω<sup>114</sup>, πάρειμι (concerning a person)<sup>115</sup>, παραγίγνομαι (concerning a person)<sup>116</sup>, ἀποστέλλω a person<sup>117</sup>, ἀποστέλλω an object<sup>118</sup>, χορηγῶ<sup>119</sup>, πέμπω ἐπιστολήν<sup>120</sup>, γράφω<sup>121</sup>, δηλώω<sup>122</sup>, and ἀποδίδωμι<sup>123</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 3-4 (VI-VII A.D.) ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐνέγκη αὐτὸν μ[ε]θ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ καταλάβῃ συντόμως | διὰ τῆς μεθαύριον, it follows and modifies the second aorist subjunctive καταλάβῃ.

<sup>113</sup> In *P.Mich.* I 55, 2-10 (c. 240 B.C.) καλῶς ποιήσεις ὑπὲρ ὧν Πτολεμαῖος | ἀδελφὸς ἀναπέλευκεν πρὸς | σέ | ἐπιμελῶς διοικήσας, ἵνα ταχέως πρὸς με ἀναστρέφῃ | καὶ μὴ ἐπικωλύμαι ἐὰν | δέη ἀναπλεῖν· συντόμως γὰρ | δεῖ ἀποτρέχειν ἐντεῦθεν, it precedes and modifies the infinitive ἀποτρέχειν, and the last sentence clarifies the reason of the previous adverb ταχέως, which combines both manner and time.

<sup>114</sup> In *P.Lond.* VII 2067, 13-17 (c. 246-240 B.C.) ὡς ἂν οὖν λάβῃς τὴν | ἐπιστολήν ἐμβιβάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατὰ πλευσον, καὶ ἀποκαταστήσας ἀνάκαμπε πάλιν εἰς | Κερκὴν συντόμως, it follows and modifies the imperative ἀνάκαμπε, the temporal participle ἀποκαταστήσας restricts, and explains in some sense, the meaning of συντόμως, that is short after you've settled the matter, go back to Kerke.

<sup>115</sup> In *W.Chr.* 452, 19-21 (224 B.C.) παρέσται δ[ὲ] ὑμῖν] καὶ ἐξ Ἡρώων πόλε[ως πορ]εῖα | συντόμως ἄγοντα . . . πυρῶν, the adverb follows and modifies the verb παρέσται, although it is placed very closed to another verbal form (participle ἄγοντα).

<sup>116</sup> In *SB XX* 14699, 2-6 (230 B.C.) [ἴν'] οὖν | συντόμ[ως] παραγενόμενοι γένονται π[ρὸς] τῷ σησαμ[ι]κῷ σπόρῳ[ι] . . . εἴπερ ἀναγκ[αῖόν ἐστιν] [ ] συντόμως ἐγδήμ[εῖν], in the first instance it precedes and modifies the participle παραγενόμενοι and in the second instance the infinitive ἐκδημεῖν. In *P.Mich.* XV 750, 17-18 (172 B.C.) μέχρι τοῦ | παραγενέσθαι με [ ] [ ] ἐπι | συντόμως, the adverb follows and modifies the infinitive παραγενέσθαι. In *P.Amh.* II 37, 11 (196 or 172 B.C.) παραγενήσομαι συντόμως, the adverb follows and modifies the future indicative παραγενήσομαι. In *UPZ I* 60, 20-22 (179 or 168 B.C.) καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, εἴπερ μὴ καὶ σε | ἀναγκαιότερόν τε/ περισπᾶ, συντόμως πειραθεῖς | παραγενέσθαι, the adverb precedes and modifies the infinitive παραγενέσθαι.

<sup>117</sup> In *P.Cair.Zen I* 59047, 1-4 (257 B.C.) ἀφεστέλλκαμεν Δεξίλιον πρὸς Ἀπολ[λόνι]ο[ν] κομίζοντα ἐπιστολήν περὶ ἀ[ν]ηλωμάτων]. καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσας [ . . . . . ] | [τ]ή[ν] τε ἐπιστολήν ἀποδοῦς καὶ ἀποστείλας \αὐτὸν/ συντόμως. οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν οὐδὲν [ . . . . . ] | [ἡ]μᾶς καὶ ἀνηλίσκειν, the adverb follows and modifies the participle ἀποστείλας. In *P.Cair.Zen II* 59201, 1-2 (257 B.C.) Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν | ἐργολάβον ἀποστελοῦμεν πρὸς σέ συντόμ[ως], it follows and modifies the future indicative ἀποστελοῦμεν. In *PSI V* 524, 1-5 (241-240 B.C.) τὴν παρὰ Σωσιβίου | περὶ Ἀμμωνίου ἐπιστολήν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀποδέδωκεν Ἔρμων | τῷ Ζηνοδώρῳ, ὡς ἂν \ / τάχιστα λάβῃτε τὴν ἐπιστολήν | συντόμως συνθέντες Προθύμῳ ἀποστείλατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, | ὅπως ἐνθάδε ἀποδοθῇ αὐτῷ, it precedes and modifies the imperative ἀποστείλατε. Prothymos should be sent immediately after you receive the letter.

<sup>118</sup> In *UPZ I* 61, 21-25 (161 B.C.) ἀπόσ[τειλ]ό[ν] μοι τὰ μέτρα τῶν ὀθονίων, | ὅπως συντόμως | ἀποσταλῇ ὑμῖν, it precedes and modifies the aorist subjunctive ἀποσταλῇ. The object of the sending is a letter where the measurements of the clothes were written. In *PSI III* 237, 7 (V-VI A.D.) καταξιώσῃ τοῖνυν ἡ ὑμῶν λαμπρότης | ἀποδοσιμον πέμψαι ἢ γράμματα χαράξαι προσόδων βουλή πραγματευτη καὶ | ταῦτα συντόμως ἀποστέλλω it precedes and modifies the present indicative ἀποστέλλω. In *P.Haut.* II 19,1 (IV-V A.D.) ἡμέλησας μὴ πέμψας συντόμως τὸν σῖτον μάλιστα μηδενὸς ἐνταῦθα ὄντος, the adverb follows and modifies the participle πέμψας, while also a participle of reason ὄντος follows. In *P.Lond.* V 1840, 4 (VI A.D.) πέμψατε συντόμως ὅπως θεραπευθῇ τὸ καθ' ὑμῶν it follows and modifies the imperative πέμψατε. In *P.Petr.* III 53 (q), 5-6 (III B.C.) ἡβουλόμην δὲ | συν[τ]όμως ἀποστεῖλαι π. [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] ἐπέταξας ἄλλοις ἰκανῶ[ . . . ] | [ . . . ] ἐνεδήμει, it precedes and modifies the infinitive ἀποστεῖλαι and probably in the lost part of ll. 6-7 a personal name or an object should be restored.

<sup>119</sup> In *PSI IV* 432, 4-5 (middle III B.C.) ὁπότε οὖν δοκιμάζεις, συντόμως χορηγείσθω, ἵνα μὴ ὑστερῶμεν τοῖς καιροῖς, it precedes and modifies the imperative χορηγείσθω, and a subordinate clause of purpose follows to clarify the reason of the need for the immediate action.

<sup>120</sup> In *P.Zen.Pestm.* 49, 14 (244 B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς οὖν ἀποδοῦς αὐτοῖς σπούδασον | ἀγαγεῖν εἰς οἰκονομίαν περὶ ὧν γεγράφαμεν καὶ περὶ μὲν | Ὀρσικλείδου λαβεῖν ἐπιστολήν πρὸς Νίκωνα καὶ παρὰ | Νίκωνος πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς συντόμως | πέμψαι, Χρυσίππῳ δὲ μνησθῆναι ὅπως συντάξῃ | Πύθωνι ἐπιστεῖλαι Σκύμνῳ χρηματίζειν ἵνα μὴ | ἐν ἐπιστάσει ἢ τὰ ἔργα, it precedes and modifies the infinitive πέμψαι.

<sup>121</sup> In *PSI IV* 417, 16-20 (middle III B.C.) καλῶς | ἂν οὖν ποιήσας γράψας | συντόμως περὶ τούτων, ἵνα μὴ συνβ[ῆ] μοι | ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρκον εἶ[ν]αι, it follows and modifies the participle γράψας.

Moreover, the structure requires that the adverb modifies verbs which denote an urgent and necessary action (usually for a good reason or for a good purpose), e.g. ποιῶ<sup>124</sup>, διοικῶ<sup>125</sup>, ἀπολύω<sup>126</sup>, παρασκευάζω<sup>127</sup>, λέγω<sup>128</sup>.

There are also some fragmentary texts, wherein the adverb is attested. In these documents either the modified constituents are not preserved, or the fragmentary nature of the texts does not allow safe conclusions<sup>129</sup>.

## Συχνῶς

It is only found in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295, 32-33 (second half of VI A.D.) γράφειν [μ]οι | συχνῶς τ[ὰ] περὶ αὐτῆς, where it precedes and modifies the infinitive γράφειν. This adjective is rare and the neutral συχνόν or συχνά are used instead. For the assumed attestation in *P.Giss.Apoll.* 11, 25-26 (see also LSJ s.v.) see my correction in the discussion of the adverb συνεχῶς above, p. 43.

<sup>122</sup> In *P.Köln* III 166, 14-15 (VI-VII A.D.) παρακληθῆτω οὖν ἡ ἐμὴ δέσποινη | συντόμως δηλῶσαί μοι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἢ τὴν τιμὴν, it precedes and modifies the infinitive δηλῶσαι.

<sup>123</sup> In *P.Mich.* I 56, 7-9 (251-248 B.C.) ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἄλλων | συντόμως σοι πορισθὲν ἀποδοθήσεται, it precedes and modifies the future indicative ἀποδοθήσεται. Based on the translation in *ed. princ.* one understands the adverb as modifying the participle πορισθὲν, “the money will shortly be obtained from other sources and repaid to you”. However, it is more probable to assume that modifies the participle πορισθὲν, “the money will shortly be repaid to you after being obtained from other sources”, since this interpretation depicts better the adverbial (temporal) usage of the participle.

<sup>124</sup> *BGU* III 824, 14-16 (A.D. 97-98) παράβαλε οὖν ἐκεῖ, εἶνα | συντόμως αὐτὸ ποιήση | καὶ καλόν, the verb is placed after the adverb; *O.Did.* 382, 5-6 (before c. A.D. 110-115) ἐὰν ὣν σὺ οἶδες | ὁ θελίση σ. ντομ. . πόησον = ἐὰν οὖν σὺ οἶσθα | ὁ θελήσει, σ[υ]ντόμ[ως] ποίησον, the adverb precedes and modifies the imperative ποίησον.

<sup>125</sup> In *P.Cair.Zen* III 59412, 8-9 (middle III B.C.) πειράσομαι οὖν συντόμως διοικῆσαι, it precedes and modifies the aorist infinitive διοικῆσαι, “I’ll try to arrange the matter immediately”. The settlement of the matter should be considered less important than carrying through with it really fast.

<sup>126</sup> In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1845, 3-5 (VI-VII A.D.) κ[α]ὶ ποιήση τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑμετέρα γνησία ἀδελφότης, | καὶ συντόμος (I. συντόμως) ἀπολύση αὐτὸν ἀδιαστρόφως (I. ἀδιαστρόφως) καὶ μὴ συνχωρήση τοῖς | χαρτολαρίοις ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἀδικῆσε (I. ἀδικῆσαι) αὐτόν, it precedes and modifies the aorist subjunctive ἀπολύση.

<sup>127</sup> In *CPR* V 25, 3-4 (VII-VIII A.D.) παρασκευάση | αὐτὸν κατακέφαλα συντόμως καθαρίσαι ὄλον τὸ χῶρημα, the adverb follows and modifies the verb παρασκευάση.

<sup>128</sup> In *SB* V 8003, 14-15 (IV A.D.) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως, εἶνα σα|φεγίζων καὶ συ[ν]τόμως εἶπω, it precedes and modifies the second aorist subjunctive of the verb λέγω at the closing formula of the letter, and perhaps summarizes what the sender had written in the previous lines. The adverb is found inside a subordinate clause of purpose (in order to be clear and brief, that’s how it is”).

<sup>129</sup> *P.Bodl.* I 57, 5 (after 245 B.C.) ] . εν συντόμως. Probably ἀποστέλλ[ειν]; *SB* X 10451, 4 (middle III B.C.) π[α]ρὰ σοῦ συντόμως καταπλε. [; *P.Lond.* VII 2084, 3 (middle III B.C.) ]αδι καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς συντόμως πα[---]; *P.Med.* I 23, 3 (after 186 B.C.) ἀλλ’ ἀπολύσας συντόμως χρ[; In *CPR* XXV 31, 4-5 (first half of VII A.D.) καθὼς] | προεἶπον συντόμως ὅσοι εἰσεῖ (I. εἰσεῖ) τ[, it is uncertain whether the adverb modifies the verb προεἶπον in the relative clause καθὼς προεἶπον, and therefore could have the meaning “briefly”, or modifies an infinitive, now lost at the end of l. 5; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67192, 2 (VI A.D.) ] πέμψατε συντόμως ἐπειδὴ [---.

### Ὑπογύως and ὑπογύως

Its meaning is “recently, lately”; see LSJ s.v. ὑπόγειος 1 II. It seems that the adverb belonged to the formal legal vocabulary in documents of the Roman period. It is found in eight petitions (in a petition, *PSI X* 1103, 8 (A.D. 192-194) the spelling is ὑπογύως), in an official correspondence (*P.Oxy.* X 1252, 18 (A.D. 294-295) and *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3472, 12-19 (A.D. 149)), in the Gnomon of Idios Logos, in one census of animals, in two documents containing minutes of court proceedings, and in one request about the opening of a will. In the private letter *P.Ryl.* II 233, 12-13 (A.D. 118) ἵνα ἔχων ὑπογύως ἐν μνήμητι τὰς τιμὰς ὧν ἀγοράζει | ἐξαρτισμῶν, the adverb follows and modifies the participle ἔχων.

However, in *P.Sarap.* 96, 10-11 (A.D. 90-133) ἐὰν γενῆται ἡμᾶς μὴ ὑπογύως | ἀναπλεῖν, is a private letter, where the adverb precedes and modifies the infinitive ἀναπλεῖν, the meaning is rather “suddenly” (see LSJ s.v. ὑπόγειος 1 III) than “recently”.

## Part two: Adverbs in -ως with indirect temporal connotations in the private letters

### Ἀδιαλείπτως<sup>130</sup>

The adverb ἀδιαλείπτως was used in order to denote that the action described by the modified verbal form is incessant. It is found mainly in formal documents, such as petitions (6 instances<sup>131</sup>), deeds of surety (24 instances<sup>132</sup>), contracts of lease (9 instances<sup>133</sup>), oaths (7 instances<sup>134</sup>), and various contracts, usually between officials (5 instances<sup>135</sup>). However, apart from those 51 occurrences of the adverb in formal documents, there are three cases<sup>136</sup> that provide the only attestations of it in private letters. Also, the adverb is found once in a formal letter, in *P.Tebt.* I 27, 45 (113 B.C.). The low concentration of the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως in the epistolary forms of communication, and the high concentration of it in documents of legal interest, suggest that the adverb belonged to a more formal vocabulary than the one used in everyday life. Since the majority of its occurrences are found in deeds of surety and leasing contracts, we should assume that it belonged to the financial and juristic technical vocabulary.

The position of the adverb in the clause structure is not fixed, although the examples seem to provide a kind of standard phrasing. In *P.Giss.* I 67, 6-8 ὅτι δὲ ἀδιαλίπ<τ>ως τοῦ[τ]ο□ ποιῶ ων. . [ . . τὰ δια]φέρογτά σοι ἢ αὐτὰ [τ]ὰ | ἔργα ἐ[λθόντι σοὶ μ]αρτυ[ρήσει, and in *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 3-5 πρὸ παντὸς [ύγιαίνειν σε] | εὐχομαι καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ἀδιαλείπ[τως ποιούμε]νος παρὰ τοῖς τριχώμασι ἐν Κοπτῶ, which both date to the Roman period, the adverb precedes the modified form of the verb ποιῶ (forms of the present tense in both cases). In *P.Amh.* II 145, 4-9 [βούλο]μαι μὲν καταξιωθῆναι ἀεὶ γράφειν | [τῆ σῆ]

<sup>130</sup> In *P.Giss.* I 67, 6-7 and in *P.Tebt.* I 27, 45 the words ἀδιαλίπτως should be regularized to ἀδιαλείπτως.

<sup>131</sup> *BGU* VIII 1854, 4 (74-73 or 45-44 B.C.); *BGU* I 180, 10 (A.D. 172 or 204); *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67002, 3, 5 (A.D. 567); *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67003, 12 (c. A.D. 567); *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67004, 20 (c. A.D. 567); *P.Lond.* V 1676, 22 (A.D. 566-573).

<sup>132</sup> *P.Lond.* III 974, 5 (A.D. 306); *PSI* III 180, 3 (V-VI A.D.); *P.Cair. Masp.* III 67296, 11 (A.D. 535); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4787, 15 (A.D. 564); *P.Lond.* III 778, 15 (A.D. 568); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4790, 23 (A.D. 578); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4791, 16 (A.D. 578); *P.Oxy.* I 135, 16 (A.D. 579); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4794, 13 (A.D. 580); *SB* XVI 12484, 13 (A.D. 584); *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204, 13 (A.D. 588); *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4756, 13 (A.D. 590); *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2478, 16 (A.D. 595); *PSI* I 59, 12 (A.D. 596); *SB* XII 10944, 12 (VI A.D.); *P.Heid.* III 248, 5 (VI-VII A.D.); *PSI* I 52, 16 (A.D. 602, 617, or 647); *PSI* I 61,22 (A.D. 609); *PSI* I 62, 16 (A.D. 613); *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2420, 13 (A.D. 614); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3959, 17 (A.D. 620); *SB* XVIII 14006, 20 (A.D. 635); *P.Pintaudi* 19, 13 (late VI - early VII A.D.); *P.Mert.* II 98, 3 (VII A.D.).

<sup>133</sup> *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3354, 19 (c. A.D. 257); *P.Oxy.* L 3597, 24 (A.D. 260); *P.Panop.* 7, 5 (c. A.D. 338-339); *P.Flor.* III 384, 31 (A.D. 489); *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67104, 9 (A.D. 530); *P.Cair. Masp.* II 67170, 26 (A.D. 562, 563, or 564); *P.Cair. Masp.* II 67156 A, 14 (A.D. 570); *P.Heid.* V 353, 1b (VI A.D.); *P.Vatic. Aphrod.* 2, FrA, 6 (VI A.D.).

<sup>134</sup> *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2876, 20 (A.D. 212-214); *PSI* XII 1229, 14-15 (A.D. 217); *P.Oxy.* I 82, 6 (middle III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2764, 20-21 (A.D. 277); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2767, 12 (A.D. 323); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2969, 10 (A.D. 323); *P.Oxy.* I 83, 12-13 (A.D. 328).

<sup>135</sup> *P.Lond.* III 1166 R, 6 (A.D. 42); *P.Harr.* I 64, 18-19 (A.D. 269-270); *PSI* IX 1037, 17 (A.D. 301); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2994, 5 (A.D. 321-324); *SB* XIV 12088, 13 (A.D. 346).

<sup>136</sup> *P.Giss.* I 67, 6-7 (c. A.D. 118); *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 4 (II A.D.); *P.Amh.* II 145, 7 (late IV A.D.).

θεοσεβεία καὶ προσαγορεύειν τὴν | [ἀνε]φάμιλλον σου καλοκαγαθίαν | [ἀδι]αλείπτως, μὴ φορτικὸς δὲ ὅμως γε|[νέσ]θαι τῇ σῆ τιμιότητι περὶ οἰουδήποτε | [πρά]γματος, the adverb modifies the infinitive of the present tense of the verb προσαγορεύω. However, as the evidence concerning the formal documents indicates, the adverb can modify verbs of other tenses as well; cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* L 3597, 23-25 παρέξεις | δέ μοι ἀδιαλείπτως εἰς τὴν δεξαμενὴν τὰ ἐνχρηζόντα ὕδα|τα.

Actually, the semantic value of the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως would not allow the modification of a simple tense. If an action is incessant, it must last for a considerable amount of time, during which at least one break could be made. Therefore, it seems that both the tense and the adverb indicate that the actions started in the past and continue in the future without a break, which is of course impossible. For instance, nobody could attend some business relentlessly, as *P.Giss.* I 67, 6-7 implies, or worship in a temple, as in *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 4, or greet someone, as the sender of *P.Amh.* II 145, 7 seems to claim. Obviously, the use of the adverb is non literal, since the semantic representation of all parts of the sentences does not correspond to the meaning conveyed by the writer. The non-literality of the meaning of the adverb is similar even for the majority, if not all, of its occurrences in the formal documents. The actions described by the modified verbal forms are rather regular or consistent, and not incessant. That is to say, the senders of the private letters, who decided to use the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως, acted in such a way, when their actions were needed or expected. Similarly, if the adverb was used in a leasing contract, when the lessee promised to pay the rent without a break, it would not mean that he should do thus every single moment of his life, but he promised to act regularly in the agreed dates. As a consequence, the adverb functions as an adverbial of time, and not of manner, since it does not answer a question about how something was done, but when it was done.

The non-literal use of a word in the private letters could suggest some degree of literacy on the part of the writer, because its use was rare in the papyri, and it was even rarer by the time the three private letters were written. As we can see, it was used, among others, in many theological and religious texts, such as the Pauline *Epistle to Romans* 1.9.2-1.10.1: [...] ᾧ λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ | υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνεΐαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι | πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου [...], and in historical texts, such as Diodorus Siculus, in which the adverb can be found again near a form of the verb ποιῶ; cf. 12.47.2.3-6: οὐδὲν δ' ἤττον καὶ μηχανὰς προσάγοντες καὶ διὰ τούτων σαλεύοντες τὰ τεῖχη καὶ προσβολὰς ἀδιαλείπτως ποιούμενοι διετέλουν.

Anyway, the use of this adverb was a matter of stylistic preference. In the cases of *P.Mert.* II 82, 4-6 ὑ[π]έρ σου τὸ προσκύνημα | ποιῶ παρὰ το[ῖς] ἐνθάδε θεοῖς εὐχο|μένη, *SB X* 10278,4-5 οὐ διαλείπω τὸ | προσκύνημα ποιῶν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἑρμῇ, *UPZ I* 109, 5 ὡς [ποι]ῶσί [μο]ι [τ]ὸ πρ[ο]σκύνημα αὐτῶν [ the object of the forms of the verb ποιῶ is the noun προσκύνημα, as in *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 4, but the verbal forms are not modified by an adverb. However, in *SB X* 10278, 4-5 the participle ποιῶν is near the verb διαλείπω, which derives from the same stem as the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως. The meaning of the verbal form in this text is exactly the same as in *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 4. Nevertheless, the adverbial phrase could not have originated from a verbal one, since *SB X* 10278,4-5 dates to ca. A.D. 114-119, that is, to the same century as *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 4. It could not have also originated from the adjectival phrase, since the adjectival ἀδιάλειπτος was not widely used. Its only occurrence is provided by *P.Lond.* I 77, 27 ὡσαύτως τὴν ἀδιάλειπτον δεσποτείαν παρεθέμην σοι, which dates to ca. A.D. 610. In *SB XXVI* 16758, 3-4 ὑπὲρ σοῦ] τὸ προσκύνημα[α ---] | [--- ποιῶ παρὰ τοῖς] ἐνθάδε θεοῖς, there is a possibility that an adverb is lost in the lacuna before the verb ποιῶ. Finally, in *P.Abinn.* 30, 4-5 ἔσπευσα προσαγορεύσέ σου τὴν | ἀμίμητον καλοκαγαθίαν, the object of the form of the verb προσαγορεύω is the noun καλοκαγαθία, as in *P.Amh.* II 145, 7, but the verbal form is not modified by an adverb. The study of the data leads to the conclusion that the use of the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως reveals the literacy of the senders of the private letters who preferred the adverbial structures.

### **Αἰφνιδίως**

The meaning is always “suddenly” and refers to a specific event that took place quickly and without warning, therefore the adverb denotes both time and manner. Apart from one petition of 154 B.C. (?), *P.Phrur. Diosk.* 1, 13, it is found in private letters modifying verbs in past perfect. In *P.Bagnall* 50, 7-9 (II B.C.) ὡς δ’ ἀνασ|παστὸς αἰφνιδίως γέγονα ἔτι | τοῦ Ἀκλέους συνηγμένου, it modifies and precedes the past perfect indicative γέγονα. In *P.Fay.* 123, 19-24 (ca. A.D. 100) οὔτε γὰρ εἴρηχε ἡμ[ῶ]ν ἀγόμενος | ἵνα ἀπολυθῆ, ἀλλὰ αἰφνιδί[ . ] ὡς εἴρηκεν ἡμῶν | σήμερον. γνώσομαι γὰρ | εἰ ἀληθῶς λέγει. it modifies and precedes the past perfect indicative εἴρηκεν. In *P.Strasb.* V 334 b, 3-4 (I-II A.D.) τῇ περὶ ἐμὲ ἐφναιδῖως (l. αἰφνιδίως) γεναμένη it modifies and precedes the participle γεναμένη.

### **Ἀνελλιπῶς**

It means “unceasingly” and is used in official petitions, private contracts (e.g. contracts of sale, and divisions of property) and official letters (*P.Lond.* IV 1338 and *P.Lond.*

IV 1392). Only in two private letters is the adverb recorded. In *P.Oxy.* XLI 2980 (II A.D.), a letter sent from Theon to Ammonios, the former says that for many days he had not received any letter from the latter (II. 3-4 *πολλὰ ἡμέραι σου ἐπιστόλια οὐκ ἔλαβον*) and in II. 6-8 he says that he -on the contrary- has written many letters, *ὅτι μὲν γὰρ αὐτός | σοι ἀνελλιπῶς [ σοι] | γράφω/, | τοῦτο καὶ πέπεισαι*. Here the adverb modifies and precedes the present indicative *γράφω* and it seems to be used as a synonym of *συνεχῶς*. The period that this “unceasingly” covers is the time when Theon had not received any letters from Ammonios. In *CPR XXIV 31, 15-16* (middle - late VII A.D.) (*καὶ*) *ἐὰν ζητήσοσιν* (I. *ζητήσωσιν*) *τὸν τοιοῦτον σίδ[ηρον] | εὐρίσκεται ἀνελλιπῶς παρὰ τῶν ἡγουμέ(νων) ἐκ(άσ)τ(ου) χωρ[ί]ου,* either a business or an official letter, the adverb modifies and follows the present indicative *εὐρίσκεται*. Here it does not have the meaning of *συνεχῶς* as in the former private letter, but of “always able to supply more when it is needed”.

### Ἀνόκως

The adverb is mainly found in private letters. Only *P.Harr.* I 63, 7-9 (after A.D. 161) *περὶ δὲ ὧν καὶ | αὐτο[ι] ἐντέλλεσθε, ἀνόκως μοι ἐπιστείλατε* is an official letter. The adverb is usually placed before the modified verbal form.

The usual meaning is “without delay” and it is found in *P.Mich.* VIII 482, 5-6 (A.D. 133) *ἀνό[κως] ἐνήνεχάν μοι αὐτόν,* where it precedes and modifies the past perfect indicative *ἐνήνεχαν*; *P.Mich.* VIII 498, 13-17 (II A.D.) *πρὸς τὸν Αἰμιλλιανὸν | ἀνόκως καὶ σπουδαίως συνέστακέ <με> ὡς συν|γενῆν σου ὃν ἥδιστα ἔσ|χε ; P.Oxy. LIX 3997, 20-23 (III-IV A.D.)* *πρό|τρεψον αὐτόν ἵνα ἀνόκως ἡμῖ(ν) | γένη[ται] καὶ γράψον μοι τί χρήζεις | καὶ δι[ὰ τί]νος θέλις πέ|μ/πω,* it precedes and modifies the aorist subjunctive *γένηται*.

A similar use of the adverb is in the phrase “write to me whatever you need and I will act without delay or without hesitation”. In the following three examples the adverb precedes and modifies the future indicative *ποιήσω*: (a) *P.Oxy.* IV 743, 38-40 (2 B.C.) *καὶ σὺ | δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν θέλης γράφε μοι καὶ ἀνόκως ποιήσω;* (b) *P.Mert.* II 62, 10-12 (A.D. 7) *καὶ σὺ δὲ | περὶ ὧν ἐὰν αἶρη σήμανον, καὶ ἀνόκως πώησω;* in this use the adverb could be compared with the formula *προθύμως ποιήσομεν*, found mainly in the Zenon archive documents; (c) *P.Corn.* 49, 7-12 (I A.D.) *καὶ γράφιν μου (I. γράφειν μοι) περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐὰν | χρήσζης (I. χρήζης) τῶν ἐνθάδε | μὴ ὄκνι μου γράφιν, | εἶδηα (I. εἶδυθα) ὅτι ἀνόκως (I. ἀνόκως) | ποιήσο (I. ποιήσω).* In this example the phrase *περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐὰν | χρήσζης (I. χρήζης) τῶν ἐνθάδε | μὴ ὄκνι μου γράφιν* could be paralleled with the same phrases in *P.Oxy.* XLI 2983, 32-33 (II-III A.D.)



περὶ ὧν β[ού]λει, ἀνόκνωσ μοι γράφε, where the adverb precedes and modifies the present imperative γράφε.

The meaning “without hesitation”, which means that the adverb should be considered as denoting time, is found in *P.Oxy.* IX 1218, 8-9 (III A.D.) περὶ οὔτινος αἰὰν (l. ἐὰν) χρήζης ἠδέως ποι|οῦντι ἀνόκνωσ δήλωσον, where it precedes and modifies the aorist imperative δήλωσον. *P.Fay.* 130, 13-15 (III A.D.) καὶ εἴ τινοσ ἦὰν (l. ἐὰν) | χρία σοί ἐστιν ἀντίγραψόν μοι ἀνόκνωσ, where it follows and modifies the aorist imperative ἀντίγραψον; *SB XVI* 12475, 12-13 (VI-VII A.D.) ἐὰν χρείαν ἔχεις ἀπόκρισιν τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγόκνωσ | γράψον μοι, where it precedes and modifies the aorist imperative γράψον. In the following examples the adverb should be considered as denoting manner and not time. The phrase “do not be lazy to write to me” is a standard formula in three private letters from the so-called “Happy Family Archive”, namely *SB III* 6263, 8 (second half of II A.D.) ἀνόκνωσ | μοι γράφειν περὶ τῆσ σωτηρίας ὑμῶν, where it precedes and modifies the infinitive γράφειν; *P.Mich.* XV 751, 10 (late II A.D.), [ἀνόκνωσ μ]οι γράφε περὶ τῆσ σωτηρίας σου, where it is restored, and *P.Mich.* XV 752, 6-10 (late II A.D.) ε[ὕρῶν τ]ὸν | πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐρχόμενον ἀνα[πλέ]ον[τα ἠπιγό]μην | δι’ ἐπειστολῆσ ἀσπάσα[σ]θε ὑμᾶς. ἐρ[ωτη]θεῖσ<α>, ἦ | κυρία μου, ἀνόκνωσ [μ]οι γρά[φ]ε[ι]ν περὶ τ[ῆ]σ σω[τ]η[ρ]ία<ς> ὑμῶν, εἶνα ἀ[μερι]μν[ό]τερα δι[ά]γω. These formulas of politeness have their literal meaning “don’t be lazy, and write to me whenever you can, not only when you need something”. Particularly, in *P.Mich.* XV 752, the letters were carried from one place to another when someone was ready to depart, and the people were in a hurry to write their letter before the carrier’s departure. They were writing their letters not in advance, but any time they learnt about someone’s departure from their place.

Another similar meaning of the adverb, as of manner, “don’t be lazy to take some action”, is found in *P.Wisc.* II 73, 9-11 (A.D. 122-123) ἀνόκνωσ οὔν τοῦ|το ποίει εἰδῶσ ὅτι ἡ προσδοκία | ἡμῶν ἐστιν αὕτη, where it precedes and modifies the present imperative ποίει.

Last, *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4962, 4-6 (first half of III A.D.) ἐπειδὴ πρώην | σε ἀνόκνωσ ὑπηρετήσαμεν, οἶμαι | καὶ νῦν ἀρέσειν τῷ ἀδελφῷ, the adverb precedes and modifies the aorist indicative ὑπηρετήσαμεν, and incorporates the meanings of “without delay”, and “without trying to avoid doing something”.

## Ἀόκνως

The adverb is used very often in formal documents<sup>137</sup> with the meaning “without hesitation to act in a certain way”. The same applies in the private letters; cf. *SB XXII* 15278, 16-19 (246-245 B.C.) καὶ σὺ δὲ καλῶς | ποιήσεις μὴ ὀκνῶν γράφειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· | πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ προθύμως | καὶ ἀόκνως ποιήσομεν, where it precedes and modifies (with the adverb of manner προθύμως) the future indicative ποιήσομεν. The phrase μὴ ὀκνῶν γράφειν in *SB XXII* 15278, 17 finds some parallels (cf. also ἀνόκνως) in *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 35-37 (A.D. 108) ἐρωτῶ | [ὕμᾶς ἀόκν]ως μοι ἀντιγράψαι περὶ τῆς σω[[τηρίας] ὑμῶν, where it is restored, it precedes and modifies the infinitive ἀντιγράψαι. The writer asks the receiver of the letter not to be lazy to write to him; *PSI XV* 1557, 22 (late III A.D.) ἀόκ[ν]ως | γράψατε περὶ αὐτῶν, where it precedes and modifies the aorist imperative γράψατε.

However, the meaning “without delay” is found in some papyri: in *P.Giss.Apoll.* 11, 22-24 (A.D. 113-120) ἀξιώσεις οὖν δίστιχον αὐτῶι γραφήναι, ἵνα | ἀξίως σου καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀόκνως προσέλθῃ, it precedes and modifies the second aorist subjunctive προσέλθῃ; in *P.Lond.* VI 1916, 16-18 (ca. A.D. 330-340) ἀναγκ[αί]ως οὖν πάνυ σπουδάσατε | αὐτῶ ἀόκνως, ὅτι τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ εἰς δουλίαν | ἤρπασαν οἱ δανισταί, the adverb follows and modifies the aorist imperative σπουδάσατε, a verb that implies the urgency for a certain action; *SB XX* 14241, verso 2 (ca. A.D. 566-567) ὅπως κἀγὼ κελευόμενος ἀόκνως ὑμῖν ὑπουργῆσαι, it precedes and modifies the infinitive ὑπουργῆσαι; *PSI VII* 742, 9 (V-VI A.D.) ἀόκνος καὶ διὰ τάχους παρασκευάσαι με ταῦτα γνῶναι, where it precedes (together with the prepositional διὰ τάχους) and modifies the infinitive παρασκευάσαι.

In *SB VI* 9395, 4 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ τίνος χρ<ε>ία ἀόκνως κελε[ύ]<ε>ιν ἡμῖν καταξιώσατα (l. καταξιώσατε (not καταιώσατε as in *ed. princ.*)), where it precedes and modifies the infinitive κελεύειν, but the meaning is not clear: “without hesitation” or “without delay”.

## Ἄφνω

It is attested in one petition (*P.Kron.* 2, 11; A.D. 127 or 128). This adverb is formed from another adverb, ἄφνω “of a sudden” (see LSJ s.v.). The adverb ἄφνω is attested in papyri: cf. *P.IFAO* II 5, 2 (second half of I B.C.); *P.Berl.Frisk* 4, 9 (IV-V A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1886, 11 (A.D. 472). In the private letter, *SB VI* 9137, 6 (V A.D.) οὗτο ἄφνος ἐξῆλθα, the form ἀφνος precedes and modifies the aorist indicative ἐξῆλθα. However, it is not certain

<sup>137</sup> *CPR VII* 11, 14 (A.D. 237) is a fragmentary official letter and the restoration of the adverb is questionable, καὶ ταῦτα γεγονέναι ἀ[όκνως].

whether this form should be considered an adverb, ἄφνω, or an adjective, ἀφνός, for which see Hesychius s.v. ἀφνός· ἐξαίφνης.

### **Βραδέως**

It is found in many documents, official or private, construed with the participle γράφων to indicate that someone writes slowly (see Youtie 1971 and 1975).

In the private letters the adverb is used to indicate that an action has not been completed promptly<sup>138</sup>. In *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59110 (257 B.C.), a private letter sent by Amyntas to Zenon, in ll. 2-9 we read that πυνθάνομαι Πάτρωνα τὸν | ἐπὶ τοῦ κέλητος | σκήψεις φέρειν, ὅταν | βραδέως παραγένηται, ὅτι<sup>139</sup> ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν | κατέχομεν [ο]ὐ διδόντες [ἐπισ]τολάς. Patron, the captain of a boat excuses himself when he arrives late, by saying that the sender of the letter, Amyntas, did not give him the letters on time. The temporal clause ὅταν βραδέως παραγένηται is short, and the adverb is placed before the verb παραγένηται. The meaning of the temporal-conditional use of ὅταν (when and if Patron arrives) is strengthened with the use of the adverb, that is, Patron's arrival is always "late". Its use seems here somehow ironic towards Patron's habits. The adverb indicates both manner (equivalent of "tardy, slowly, sluggish", νωθρῶς) and time ("behind time").

*P.Oxy.* LXVII 4624 (I A.D.) is a private letter sent by Dios to Sarapion. In l. 2-5 Dios writes that εἰ βραδέως ἀγοράζεται τὰ σιτάρια | μὴ πώλει ἄρτι. τάχα γὰρ σὺν | θεῶ ἀναβησόμεθα καὶ χρεῖα | ἡμεῖν αὐτῶν ἐστί. The adverb βραδέως in the beginning of the clause precedes and modifies the verb ἀγοράζεται. It seems that Sarapion had bought the wheat very recently (probably not at the time he should buy it) and Dios asks him not to sell it right now (in fact, at the time he receives the letter).

*SB* XIV 11584 (late II A.D.), was already discussed, see pp. 18 and 47. The scribe favorites the use of adverbs (συνεχῶς, οὕτως, ῥαδίως, ἀνυπερθέτως are also found in the letter. In ll. 4-9 διὸ παρακαλῶ τὸ αὐτὸ | ποιεῖν σ[υ]νεχῶς (that is, to write me a letter), οὕτως γὰρ αὐξηθῆ[σ]εται ἡμῶν ἢ φιλία. ὅταν δέ σοι βραδέως | [γ]ράφω, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρ[υ] | ἴσκειν μηδένα | πρὸς σὲ ἐρχόμενον ῥαδίως τοῦτο γίνε|ται, the temporal adverb βραδέως is placed in

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<sup>138</sup> *P.Hib.* II 253 (middle III B.C.) is a private (?) letter sent by Leodamas to a person whose name is lost. In l. 2 the adverb βραδέως is restored βραδέως γὰρ . . . | κεν εἰς τὸ προσα. [ . . . ] | ἀνακομίζεσθαι, but, if the restoration is right, then it is certain that the adverb is placed at the beginning of the sentence and precedes the verbal form. In *P.Laur.* I 19 (early III A.D.), which is a fragmentary private letter or petition, the position and the context of the adverb βραδέως in l. 17, ] βραδέως γραμμα|[ are uncertain.

<sup>139</sup> After the verbal phrase σκήψεις φέρειν, which describes the unsubstantial claims of Patron, the noun clause should begin with ὡς. The introduction with ὅτι indicates that Amyntas reproduces the words of Patron themselves.

a temporal conditional sentence, preceding the verb [γ]ράφω, but after σοί, the object of the verb. The interest of this example lies on the use of the phrase γράφω βραδέως, which is used to indicate that someone does not write answering letters promptly, while, as said, it was mainly used in the subscriptions of contracts or official documents to indicate someone who is a slow scribe.

*P.Haun.* II 16 (II-III A.D.) is a private letter sent by two brothers to their father. In ll. 3-4 they apologize for delaying to write to him, ἐκαμέν (l. ἐκά<μο>μέν) σε ἐγνωκέναι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ βρα|δέ[ω]ς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστέλλειν σοι δι' οὗ ὁ ἑτέρος (l. ἐταῖρος) | ἡμῶν Ὑπατο[ς] ἐν Ἀρσινοεῖτη (l. Ἀρσινοῖτη) ὧν ἔγραψέ σοι | ἐπιστολίου. The adverb βραδέως is placed in the first position in the phrase τοῦ βρα|δέ[ω]ς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστέλλειν σοι, and precedes the infinitive ἐπιστέλλειν. The same scribe writes two more adverbs, συνεχῶς (see discussion under this adverb, p. 43) and τάχιον.

### Διηνεκῶς

The adverb is mainly used in formal documents, e.g. contracts of sale, leases, wills, contracts of marriage, divorces, divisions of inherited property, registrations in the taxation lists and settlements. Its meaning is “without ceasing, in perpetuity” (see LSJ s.v. διηνεκής). The only instance in private letters is *P.Michael.* 16, 4 (II-III A.D.) ἐχρῆ σε ἄδελφε | γράφειν μοι διηνεκῶς | περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου, where it follows and modifies the infinitive γράφειν. This phrase is a variant of the συνεχῶς or αἰεὶ γράφε μοι περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου-formula. The reason the sender prefers this adverb over the adverbs συνεχῶς or αἰεὶ cannot be drawn from the brief letter. The adverb is used in this context by John Chrys. *Ep.* 39 (*PG* 52, 631) κὰν μὴ διηνεκῶς γράφωμεν, διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν γραμματηφόρων ἐγκοπτόμενοι. However, it is more probable that the scribe of the papyrus (and probably John) combined two structures, μεμνησθαι ἡμῶν διηνεκῶς and γράφειν ἡμῖν συνεχῶς; in many other instances in John these two phrases are clearly expressed: see J.Chrys. *Ep.* 67 (*PG* 52, 645) μεμνημένος τε ἡμῶν διηνεκῶς, καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν γράφης, μακροτέρας ποιῶν τὰς ἐπιστολάς, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας τε καὶ εὐθυμίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐνδιατρίβων διηγήμασιν; J.Chrys. *Ep.* 70 (*PG* 52, 647) πόρρωθεν ὄντες μεμνησθαί τε ἡμῶν διηνεκῶς μὴ κατοκνεῖτε, καὶ γράφειν ἡμῖν συνεχῶς, ἡνίκα ἂν ἐξῆ, τὰ περὶ τῆς ὑγείας τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐαγγελιζόμενοι; J.Chrys. *Ep.* 129 (*PG* 52, 688) γράφομεν συνεχῶς, μεμνήμεθα διηνεκῶς.

## Δυσόκνωσ

*BGU XIV 2421* (I B.C.) is a private letter and the writer asks the receiver of the letter not to hesitate to write to us, μ[ῆ] | δυσόκνωσ ἡμῖν γράφων (ll. 3-4). The adverb precedes and modifies the participle γράφων, and, as an adverb of manner, is placed at the beginning of the phrase.

## Ἐξάφνωσ

The form ἐξάφνωσ is restored in a private letter from *strategos* Apollonios archive, *P.Giss.* I 19, 4-5 (A.D. 115) ἐξ|[άφ]νωσ ἐ[ξῆ]λθεσ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, where it precedes and modifies the second aorist indicative ἐξῆλθεσ and its meaning is “on a sudden, suddenly”. However the form ἐξάφνωσ is not attested in ancient Greek literature. One can find only the forms ἐξαίφνης (see LSJ s.v. ἐξαίφνης) or ἄφνω or later ἄφνωσ (see LSJ s.v.). In papyri the form ἐξαίφνης is found in many documents (either official or private) of the Ptolemaic-Byzantine periods, but interestingly in a number of documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods the spelling is ἐξέφνης; cf. *P.Giss.* I 86, 2 (A.D. 113-120) ὅτι ἐξέφνης ἀπέστ<ε>ιλας; *P.Flor.* II 175 (A.D. 253-256) ἐπεὶ ἐξ\αί/φνης (the form was corrected from the spelling ἐξεφνης) κατέαγεν; *SB VI 9558*, 10 (A.D. 325) ἐξ [ῶν π]ρὸ τούτου ἐξέφνης πέπονθα. On the other hand, the forms ἄφνω and ἄφνωσ are found in some Roman and Byzantine petitions and in a private letter of the fifth century A.D., *SB VI 9137*, 7 οὔτο (l. οὔτως) ἄφνος (l. ἄφνω) ἐξῆλθα. Therefore, if we restore the form used at the end of l. 4 and the lost part of l. 5 of *P.Giss.* I 19 ἐξ|[άφ]νωσ, then this form is strange, although it seems that it was used in later Greek, if we judge from the note of Georgius Lacapenus, *Ep.* 3η ἐξάφνω, οὔτε χρῆ λέγειν ἐξάφνω μετὰ προθέσεωσ, οὔτ' αὖ πάλιν αἴφνης δίχα προθέσεωσ. The space in the beginning of l. 5 could accommodate probably four or five letters, and not just two (αφ), as proposed by the editor. I think that one could restore μεγάλησ [ἀγ]ωνιῶσα περί σου διὰ τὰ ὄν|[τα τ]οῦ καιρ[ο]ῦ φημιζόμενα καὶ ὅτι ἐξ|[οῦ ἄφ]νωσ ἐ[ξῆ]λθεσ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οὔτε πο|[. . . ο]ὔτε [σε]ιτίοις ἠδέωσ προσέρχομαι, |[ἀλλὰ συν]εχῶσ ἀγρυπνοῦσα νυκτὸς ἠ|[μέρας μ]ίαν μέριμναν ἔχω τὴν περι [τῆσ σωτ]ηρίας σου. In that case we have to assume that Aline told her husband that she was distressed concerning his health because of the events she has heard. Then the sentence beginning with ὅτι is not causal but an object of another verb, e.g. καὶ <γίγνωσκε> ὅτι; cf. *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 45 (A.D. 376-400) καὶ γίγνωσκε ὅτι Μουκιανός etc.

## Ἐπιμελῶς

The adverb is attested in all types of documents in all periods and seems to be an alternative form of the phrase “μὴ ἀμελήσης + infinitive” or “ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσεις”. Its meaning is always “carefully, attentively”, and, therefore, it should be regarded as an adverb of manner<sup>140</sup>. However, in some instances in the Zenon archive (III B.C.), the adverb ἐπιμελῶς is found close to an expression of time and it seems to have a pragmatic temporal meaning: *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59585, 8-10 (middle III B.C.) καὶ τοῦτο | [ἐπιμ]ελῶς καὶ ἐν τάχει ποιήσατε, ὅπως μὴ πλείους | [ἡμέρ]ας ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει [[ ποιω]] ἐλκόμεθα; *P.Mich.* I 55, 6 (ca. 240 B.C.) - καλῶς ποιήσεις ὑπὲρ ὧν Πτολεμαῖος | ἀδελφὸς ἀναπέλευκεν πρὸς | σέ | ἐπιμελῶς διοικήσας, ἵνα ταχέως πρὸς με ἀναστρέφῃ | καὶ μὴ ἐπικωλύωμαι ἐὰν | δέῃ ἀναπλεῖν; *PSI* IV 387, 1-2 (244 B.C.) ἐὰν τινος χρεῖαν ἔχῃς, διδόνα[ι τῷ δεῖνα] | τὰ γράμματα, ὅς ἐπιμελῶς α[- c.11 -] αὐθημερόν; cf. also *P.Cair.Zen* IV 59562, 6 (after 253 B.C.) καλῶς οὖν | ποίησε[τ]ε ἐπιμ[ελῶς φροντίσαντες] | ὅπως τὸ τάχο[ς], if the restoration is correct.

In some cases it is questionable whether the adverb is of manner or temporal. In the phrase γράφω ἐπιμελῶς it means “I write as soon as possible”, because “I write carefully” would mean nothing in this context: e.g. *PSI* V 533, 12 (258-257 B.C.) καλῶς δ’ ἂν ποιήσῃς καὶ γράψας | ἐπιμελῶς καὶ δοὺς Ἑρμῶνι τῶν εἰς τὴν | ναῦν ὅσα μὴ δύναται ἄνωθεν ἀγορασθῆναι, ἵνα ἐκ πόλεως ἀγορασθῆι; *PSI* VI 614, 14-15 (before 257-256 B.C.) γράφε δὲ καὶ | Ἑραγόραι, ἐὰν τί σοι | προσπίπτῃ τῶν | καθ’ αὐτόν, ἐπιμελῶς· αἶε γὰρ | πυνθάνεται εἴ τι | ἦκει γράμμα παρά | σου; *P.Cair.Zen* II 59284, 5-7 (251 B.C.) ἐὰν δὲ οἱ κληροῦχοι μὴ ᾤσιν

<sup>140</sup> *P.Mich.* I 78, 4-5 (middle III B.C.) ἐὰν τί σοι βούληι γίνεσθαι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς [ --- ] | ἅμα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 26, 4 (255 B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς οὖν c.14 letters φύτε]ρσον; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 27, 5-6 (254 B.C.) καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιμελῶς | γενέσθω; *P.Cair.Zen* III 59314, 3 (250 B.C.) νῦν αὐτὸ ἐπιμελῶς ποιήσον; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 49, 11-12 (244 B.C.) - ἐπιμελῶς οὖν ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς σπουδάσον | ἀγαγεῖν εἰς οἰκονομίαν; *PSI* VI 637, 5 (after 256 B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς [ἐκθεσ τὰ προ]γράμματα; *PSI* VI 590, 5 (middle III B.C.) φροντίσας ἐπιμελῶς; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1675, 14-15 (III A.D.) ἵνα οὖν καὶ | σὺ ἐπιμελῶς χρήσῃ; *SB* V 7600, 5 (A.D. 16) τὸν [ἴ]ππον μου ἐπειμβληγῆς ἐπιμελῶς; *P.Sarap.* 80, 11 (A.D. 90-133) ἐπιμελῶς ἀναστραφῶσιν; *P.Fay.* 121, 7 (after A.D. 110) ὁ καὶ ἀλείψεις ἐπιμελῶς; *SB* XIV 11374, 11-12 (after A.D. 168) ἐπιμελῶς ἐξετάζε[ι]ν | τίνες εἰσὶ οἱ τῶ ὄντι ἀνακεχωρηκότες; *P.Mich.* VIII 489, 12 and 13-14 (II A.D.) - τὰ ἔργα ἐπιμελῶς . . . .ιανση καὶ π[άν]τα γεινέσθω ὡς ὑπέσχου μοι καὶ τῶν . ε . . δίων τὰ ἔργα ἐπιμελῶς ἐφόδευσον; *P.Oxy.* XII 1581, 14 (II A.D.) διὰ π[αν]τὸς ἔχε | τ[ὸ]ν Σαραπίωνα ἐπιμελῶς; *P.Flor.* II 236, 8-9 (A.D. 266) ἐπιμελῶς οὖν τρυγᾶτε. In some examples it is uncertain which verbal form is modified by the adverb ἐπιμελῶς: ἐρωτήσας... ἐπιμελῶς... or ἐπιμελῶς... γνοὺς... in *SB* XII 11017, 3-5 (A.D. 12) ἐρωτήσας Ὀρίωνα τὸν σιτολόγον ἐπιμελῶς τὴν | ἀσφαλὴν φάσιν γνοὺς. ἡγόρασας ἐπιμελῶς or ἐπιμελῶς τήρησον in *SB* XVIII 13211, 2 (I-IV A.D. - business letter - τοὺς ἦλους, | οὓς ἡγόρασας, ἐπιμελῶς τήρησον, ὅπως | Τύραννος ὁ κυβερνήτης μαρτυρήσῃ μοι, ὅτι | διὰ αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐδαπανήθησαν. ἀποστέλλει... ἐπιμελῶς or ἐπιμελῶς θρέψον in *P.Flor.* II 149, 5 (A.D. 266 - τοὺς δύο ταύρους | οὓς ἀποστέλλει σοι | Ὀρίων ὁ φροντιστὴς ἐπιμελῶς | θρέψον ἵνα δυναθῇ τῇ β ἀνελεθῆν).

Fragmentary texts where the meaning of the adverb is not clear: *P.Cair.Zen* III 59389, 5 (256 or 255 B.C.) - τὰ δ[ὲ] δ[ε]λφά[κ]ια --- ] | ἐπιμελῶς καὶ τοκάδας ὅτι π[λεί]στας --- ]; *P.Cair.Zen* III 59397, 4 (middle III B.C.) χαριεῖ μοι ἀντιλαμβανόμενος α[ὐ]τοῦ --- ]ν γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς; *P.Cair.Zen* III 59442, 11 (middle III B.C.) καὶ . ε . . ὦν ταῦτα ἐπιμελῶς; *P.Cair.Zen* IV 59593, 11 (middle III B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ; *P.Lond.* VII 2103, 3 (middle III B.C.) ἐπιστολὴ | πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιμελῶς | . . ρηται.

τεταγμένοι ἐν τοῖς | περὶ σὲ τόποις, γράψας ἐπιμελῶς πρὸς τὸν ἐπιστάτην τὸ]ν ἐκεῖ ὄντα, ἵνα διὰ σὲ μὴ ὀλιωρῶν|ται, ἀλλὰ τυχάνωσ[ιν τῆς πάσης φιλανθρωπίας] where the adverb is restored; *PSI VIII 899 V, 4* (III A.D.) - πολλάκ[ι]ς σο[ι] ἔ]γραψα ἐλθῖν. [γρά]ψον μο[ι] ἐ]πι[με]λῶς ἢ (l. ει) ἔρχη, but in this example the restoration is uncertain. The same applies in the phrase ἀποστέλλω ἐπιμελῶς, which means “I send quickly”; e.g. *P.Cair.Zen I 59025, 19-24* (258-256 B.C.) καλῶς | οὖν ποιήσεις ἀποστέλλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιμελῶς, ἐάν τινος χρέαν ἔχωσιν, καὶ ποιῶν | αὐτοῖς; *P.Cair.Zen II 59190, 6* (255 B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς ἀπόστειλον; *P.Mich. I 33, 8-11* (254 B.C.) καλῶς ἂν οὖν | ποιήσεις ἐπιμέλειαν ποιού|μενος περὶ ὧν ἂν σοι | ἐντυγάνη; *PSI VI 557, 1* (256 B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς [ἐπισ(?)]τέλλων; *PSI V 519, 4* (250 B.C.) ἀποστέλλειν ἐπιμελῶς καθὰ ἂν γράφηις; *P.Eleph. 10, 5-6* (223-222 B.C.) καὶ τοῦ[το ποιή]σας ἐπιμελῶς | ἀπόστειλ[ο]ν ἡμῖν; *P.Eleph. 12, 3-4* (223-222 B.C.) ὡς ἂν οὖν ἀναγνῶις τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παράδειξον αὐτῶι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους | ἐπιμελῶς.

### Εὐτάκτως

The meaning of the adverb is “in an orderly manner” or “regularly” when it concerns payments; see LSJ s.v. εὔτακτος II. With this latter meaning it is found in various formal documents of the Ptolemaic period and loan contracts of the Roman period. It is also found in four private letters which belong to the Zenon archive, and date from the middle of the Ptolemaic period. In the first three letters the adverb precedes and modifies a form of the verb (ἀπο)δίδωμι and in the last one a form of the verb ἐφέλκομαι (“I am in arrears”).

In the private business letter *P.Col. III 31, 3-4* (256 B.C.), δίδου δ’ αὐτῶι | τό τε ὀψώνιον καὶ τὸ σιτάριον τὸ συντεταγμένον εὐτάκτως, “give him the fixed wages and food allowance punctually” (transl. in *ed. princ.*). However, if the adverb means “punctually”, it does not reflect the repetitive nature of the adverb “εὐτάκτως”. Besides, what concerns the sender is not the payment of the employee’s wages on a deadline that the recipient of the letter should not miss, but the payment of his wages every month. It seems that it was not of a concern if the employer failed to pay the due wages for a month on the last day of it, since he could pay them on the first days of the following month, and still the payment should be considered as regular. Therefore, the adverb could be translated as “regularly”. The verb is in imperative mood, and precedes the adverb, and the two objects of the verb are placed between the verb and the adverb. This could mean that what mattered more was the payment of the wages to the employee, and not the regularity of that action. Also, the emphasis is placed on the adverb, since it is the last word of the sentence, and, thus, it is highlighted. The same meaning is found in *P.Zen.Pestm. 46, 2-3* (252 B.C.) [καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐ]πιμέλειαν

π[ο]ιησάμενος ὅπως τά τε ἐπιτήδεια καὶ οἱ | [γενόμενοι μισθοὶ ε]ὐτάκτως διδῶνται, where the adverb precedes and modifies διδῶνται (subjunctive in a subordinate clause of purpose) - “do something, in order to give them supplies and wages regularly”. In addition, in *P.Lond.* VII 2038, 26-27 (middle III B.C.) τοὺς μισθοὺς εὐτ[άκτ]ως | ἡμῖν ἀποδιδόναι, which is another private business letter, Lysimachos and Paesis, who work in a pottery workshop, complain to Zenon that there was a four-days delay concerning the payments of wages for the last month. They ask him to order a person to avoid future delays.

In *PSI* IV 350, 14 (before 253 B.C.) γίνωσκε διότι τοῖς μηθὲν | πεποιηκόσιν εὐτάκτηκας τὰ ὀψώνια, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπη|ρεάζοντές σοι νῦν καταλιμπάνουσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶι | ὄντι πρὸς τῆς θήραι εὐτάκτως ἐφέλεται τὰ ὀψώνια, the adverb precedes and modifies the verb ἐφέλεται. The letter concerns the payment of the workers; it seems that some workers, who did nothing concerning their jobs, abandon their jobs, although they were paid regularly (the verb εὐτακτῶ, from the same stem as the adverb, also occurs here); Nikon complains that although he is the only one who actually works, regular payments to him are in arrears (see *LSJ* s.v. ἐφέλκομαι I4).

### Ἡμερησίως

The adverb, meaning “daily”, does not appear in any literary text, and is found only in the Greek papyri from Egypt, mainly in the clauses of the employment contracts that refer to the provision for daily payment of the wages by the employer. It is also found in private letters of the Roman or early Byzantine periods, usually placed after the verbal form to indicate that the daily basis (real or not) of an action. In most cases the adverb seems to be used instead of the prepositional καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν.

Its first appearance is in *SB* XX 14102 (late I A.D.-early II A.D.), a letter sent by Origenes (or Horigenes?) to his daughter Alexandra reminding her of his earlier request, that she should write to him everyday!, ll. 3-4 [ὡ]ς καὶ σοι κάτ’ ὄψιν ἐνετειλάμην ὅτι | λ[ί]αν δέον ἦν ἡμερησίως γράφε μοι. The adverb precedes and modifies the form γράφε (it is also placed next to it), and indicates the exaggeration in this action, since it was very difficult that someone could write and send a letter to the same person every day. Two notes concerning the text: the verbal form γράφε might be a mistake instead of the infinitive γράφειν. Probably a full stop should be placed after the pronoun μοι, so as the following sentence which starts in l. 5 ἢ ἀνέπεισέ σε Σεραπιάς τοῦ μὴ [γρά]φειν could be followed by another sentence, starting with ἦ in the lost part of the papyrus, “either Sarapias has persuaded her not to write to him... or...”.



Then, the adverb appears in the archive that belonged to Saturnila and her sons (or Happy Family archive; see <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/212.pdf>), in *SB* III 6263, 5 (second half of II A.D.), *P.Heid.* VII 400, 5 (late II A.D.), *P.Mich.* XV 751, 3 (late II A.D.) and *P.Mich.* XV 752, 5-6 (late II A.D.), which are four letters sent by Sempronius to his mother Saturnila, and in *P.Mich.* III 209, 5 (late II A.D. - early III A.D.), which is a letter addressed to Sempronius by his brother Saturnilus. The adverb is part of the προσκύνημα-formula which follows the χαίρειν-formula at the beginning of the letter (ἅμα δὲ τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶμαι ἡμερησίως παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι in the letters of Sempronius, and ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά | σου ποιῶμε<v> ἡμερησίως παρὰ τοῖς πατρά|εις (l. πατρώ|οις) θεοῖς in the letter of Saturnilus); it always follows the verbal form ποιῶμαι, and therefore, corresponds to the well-attested prepositional καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν; cf. for instance *P.Mich.* VIII 476, 4-5 ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ποιούμενός σου τὸ προσκύνημα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν | παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς, and *P.Mich.* VIII 480, 4-5 [τὸ] πρ[οσκύ]νη[μ]ά σου πο[ιο]ῦμαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖ[ς] | [ἐν]θ[άδε θε]οῖς.

In the same context *SB* XVIII 13614 (II-III A.D.), a letter sent by Thonas and Kalalas to their father, an expression of affection is phrased in ll. 3-5 as ἔρωμαί δε καὶ τοῦ σοῦ [βίου ἀρι]|στείαν μνημ[ονεύω ἡμερησίως] | πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς, but the reading after κα (l. 3), the restoration [βίου ἀρι]|στείαν, the verb and the adverb are restored without exact parallel. In fact, after ἔρωμαί δε the text could be read as κἀγώ. Instead of the verb μνημ[ονεύω I read μνήαν (l. μνεῖαν), since the small circle of an α is preserved at the right of the lower part of the right hasta of η. Then, the defaced and lost part of l. 4 could be restored as [ποιῶμαι καθ' ἡμέραν παρὰ] followed by l. 5 πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς.

*SB* VI 9364, 4 (A.D. 243) and *SB* VI 9467, 6-7 (A.D. 250, A.D. 254 or A.D. 261) belong to the Heroninos archive (<http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/103>). Although both documents were classified as private letters, they are business letters. In *SB* VI 9364 an amount of barley should be given or paid to someone, but the modified verbal form, which certainly preceded the adverb, is not preserved and was not placed next to it. On the other hand, in *SB* VI 9467 small fish should be brought somewhere, and the adverb follows and modifies the infinitive ἀναφέρειν. It is placed right next to the infinitive ἴν\α/ [[ οὕτως]] δια|ταγήν λάβωσιν τοῦ ἀναφέρειν ἡμε|ρησίως ἰχθύδια.

*SB* XIV 12200 (III A.D.) is a letter sent by Sarapion to his brother Heraklianos mentioning some urgent obligations. Heraklianos must come up straight away because some people want to file a monthly report and they are being harassed daily, ll. 5-8 λαβῶν μου τὸ

ἐπιστόλιον εὐθέως ἄναλθε ἐπιδὴ τὸν μηνιαῖον | βούλονται καταχωρίσαι. ὀχλοῦνται γὰρ ἡμερησίως. The adverb follows the modified verb ὀχλοῦνται, and is placed right next to it.

### Μηνιαίως

The adverb does not appear in literary texts and all the six instances attested in papyri date from the Byzantine period (IV-VII A.D.). All but one are in contracts, especially loan contracts, and only *P.Gen.* IV 171 (first half of IV A.D.) is a business letter, where μηνιαίως is restored by the editor: ll. 7-16 μαθέτω γὰρ Διονύσιος ὁ προνοητὴς Διονυσίου ὅτι οὐκ ἀπειλήφαμεν τὸν γεοῦχον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὑπη[ντήσαμεν μηνιαίως τούτου ἀρκουμένου. ἀπέστει[λα δέ σοι τὰς] ἀποχὰς ἀχύρου τοῦ Ἡρακλᾶ, καὶ ἐὰν [- ca.12 -]σης καὶ περιστῆς Παθερμουῦθιν, ἔ[ως τοῦ αὐτὸν] εἰς τὸν μηνιαῖον τοῦτον εἰδέναι | [τίνας ἐζήτησε]ν ὁ στρατηγός, μὴ ἐνοχλῆσαι, τῷ τε | [πρὸς σὲ μὴ ἐτο]ίμως ἀπνητηκότι, εἰ οὖν ζητεῖ τούτους, | [ἐνοχλῆσαι]. Its restoration is uncertain, and is based on the phrase εἰς τὸν μηνιαῖον τοῦτον in l. 13. If this restoration is right, then the adverb should modify either the verb ὑπηντήσαμεν, which precedes, “we didn’t meet monthly”, or the participle ἀρκουμένου, which follows, “he was satisfied with something monthly”. Probably some other word should be restored there.

### Ὀκνηρῶς

The adverb is restored in a fragmentary letter, *P.Lond.* VII 2090, 6 (middle III B.C.) ] . ς μὴ ὀκνηρῶ[ς, but the meaning “reluctantly” is not certain there. The reading ὀκνηρῶ[ could be also regarded as an adjective (genitive plural).

### Ὀλιγώρως

In *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59057, 6-7 (257 B.C.) μὴ οὖν ῥαθυμῆσις. λαβὲ δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ὑποζύγιον, ὃ ἂν σοι δῶι, καὶ ἐξάγαγέ μοι, καὶ μὴ ὀλιγώρως and in *P.Enteux.* 75, 10 and 12 (222 B.C.) Ἡρό]δοτος δὲ ὀλιγώρως χρησάμενος παρεῖλκυκέ με ἕως τοῦ νῦν and μὴ ὀλιγώρως χρήσασθαι, the meaning is “neglectfully, carelessly”; see LSJ s.v. However, in both cases the negligence is combined with a temporal sense, because the matter is urgent and there is no reason to delay. In *P.Apol.* 13, 7 the adverb is restored, but the restoration is not certain: [πέμψατέ μοι] ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὀλιγώ[ρως ἐγράφη μοι] χθὲς περὶ τούτου πάλιν.

### Προθύμως

It occurs in official documents, mostly of the Ptolemaic period, and in many private letters, mostly of the Ptolemaic and the Byzantine periods. The meaning is that someone

performs an action or undertakes a duty, which is actually (or considered to be) a burden, without reacting against it.

Usually the sender states that he himself would take care of easy tasks or various burdens. These letters are discussed in detail. Apart from these, there are two other documents, where the sender asks for very specific actions. In *BGU* II 486, 9 (II A.D.) ἵνα δὲ προθύμ[ως οἱ] | ὀφείλοντες ὑπακούσωσι τῇ ἀποδόσει, ἴστωσ[αν, ὅτι] | γνήσιον ἀποδόντο\ε/ς πρόστειμον τὰ νῦν οὐ πρ[αχθήσον]||[τ]αι the meaning is “(to pay taxes) without hesitation, willingly, readily”, and in *P.Flor.* II 157 (A.D. 249-268), which is a letter from the Heroninos archive, the meaning is “(to work in a private estate) promptly, easily”. Alypius asks that bread and any necessary service should be provided to the workers so as to work without being anxious about their food, ll. 6-13 σπουδῇ σοι γενέσθω ἄρ|του[ς] καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπ|ρησίαν ἀποστέλλειν αὐ|τοῖς ἵνα ὑπηρετούμε|νοι προθύμως ἡμῖν | ἐργάζονται ἔχοντες | τὸ ἀμέριμνον τῶν | τροφῶν.

The adverb was part of a formulaic expression in many of the documents, wherein the conveyed meaning is *to take care of easy tasks or various burdens*.

The phrase ποιήσω (future indicative) σοι (dative) προθύμως (at the end) whatever you want (e.g. ὅν ἂν χρειάν ἔχῃς) appears in a number of papyri of the Zenon archive, dating from the third century B.C.; both the meanings of “eagerly” and “readily” are meant at the same time; cf. *P.Cair.Zen* III 59508, 8 (258-256 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen* III 59442, 15 (middle III B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen* IV 59575, 8 (middle III B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen* V 59804, 12 (258 B.C.); *P.Lond.* VII 2069, 5 (middle III B.C.); *SB* XVIII 13617, 5 (middle III B.C.); in *SB* XXII 15278, 16-19 (246-245 B.C.) καὶ σὺ δὲ καλῶς | ποιήσεις μὴ ὀκνῶν γράφειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· | πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ προθύμως | καὶ ἀόκνως ποιήσομεν, we find a parallel example, where the adverb ἀόκνως is also used in the same phrase.

This use is attested in the Roman period in a private letter, *PSI* XII 1261, 14-17 (A.D. 212-217) καθὼς ἐπέστειλέν σοι ἡ ἀγαθὴ Ἡ|ρωδιάνα, εἴ τι ἔχεις ἢ οἶδας ἢ συμβουλευῆσαι δύ|νασαι, ταῦτα προθύμως καὶ εἰς ἐμὴν τιμὴν | ποιήσεις, where the sender, Apollonios, asks from the receiver, Diogenes, to do everything readily. The adverb modifies the future indicative ποιήσεις, but it is placed before that, and the dative of the Ptolemaic papyri has been replaced by the prepositional καὶ εἰς ἐμὴν τιμὴν.

Moreover, in the Zenon archive, not only the formulaic expression ποιήσω σοι προθύμως is found, but also the adverb modifying verbs that mean “assist” and is placed before these verbs. In *P.Lond.* VII 2026, 9-14 (middle III B.C.) καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις | γινώ[σ]κων τε αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς | ἄλ[λους] παρακαλ[ῶν] τῶν καλῶς | ἐχ[όν]των, προθύ[μω]ς

\αὐτῶν/ συνεργῶν καὶ ἡμῶν εἵνεκεν καὶ | αὐτοῦ τοῦ νεανίσκου, and in *SB XXVI* 16636, 4-6 καλῶς οὖν | ποιήσεις ἐά[v] τινά σου χρείαν ἔχη ἢ πρὸς ταῦτα ἢ πρὸς ἄλλο τι | [τῶν καλῶς ἐ]χόντων προθύμως αὐτῶι συνεργῶν (middle III B.C.) it modifies the participle συνεργῶν; in addition, in *P.Lond.* VII 2027 (middle III B.C.) it modifies the participle συναμβανόμενος, II.3-6 καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσεις φροντίσας τῶν ἀνθρώπων... καὶ περὶ τὴν | γεωμετρίαν ἵνα μηθὲν ἀδικηθῶσιν, καὶ ἐάν τινά σου ἄλλην χρείαν ἔχωσιν, προθύμως | αὐτοῖς συναμβανόμενος καὶ ἡμῶν ἕνεκα καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

The same use is found in another papyrus dating from the Ptolemaic period, an official letter of introduction, *P.Mich.* XVIII 770, 9-15 (197 B.C.) ἐν οἷς ἂν οὖν | ὑμῶν τυγχάνη χρείαν ἔχων | τῶν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνηκόντων | καλῶς ποιήσετε συναντιλαμβανόμενοι αὐτοῦ προθύμως ὅπως | μηθὲν τῶν εἰς τὸ βασιλικ[ὸν] | χρησίμων παραλείπητ[αι], where the adverb modifies the participle συναντιλαμβανόμενοι, and it lies after that.

Moreover, in some official letters the same phrases are attested: cf. *P.Hib.* I 82, 17-19 (239-237 B.C.) καλῶς οὖν [π]οιήσεις | συναν[τι]λ[α]μβανόμενος προθύμως περὶ τῶν | εἰς ταῦτα συγκυρόντων; *P.Tebt.* III 709, 12-13 (158 B.C.) καλῶς ποιήσετε ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι προθύμως; *SB XII* 11078, 10-11 (c. 100 B.C.) [καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε] συνεργ[οῦντες] | [αὐ]τῶ[ι προ]θύ[μω]ς.

In *SB XVI* 12287 (214 B.C.), a covering letter, the sender orders the receiver to take care of some actions concerning the transport of wheat. At the end he asks him to get involved into this procedure, and in the lost part of the papyrus the adverb [προθύμ]ως has been restored to modify the imperative σ\α/υτόν ἐπίδος (and it is placed between these words): II. 6-8 μηδὲν δ' ἦσσαν καὶ σ\α/υτόν | [προθύμ]ως ἐπίδος ἐν τούτοις, ἵνα μηδεμία πρόφασις αὐτοῖς κατα[λείπη]ται, based on *UPZ I* 110, 187-192 (164 B.C.) ἡγησάμενοι τὴν περὶ τοῦ μέρους τούτου σπουδὴν | εὐμαρῶς καθί[ξ]εσθε τῶν κατὰ τὸν σπόρον, τῶν ἐχόντων τὰ κτήνη προθύμως ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδιδόντων, ὅταν | ὀρῶσιν ἀντικαταλασσομένην αὐτοῖς τὴν εὐχρηστίαν | καὶ τὸ συμφέρον κατανοῶσι κοινὸν νομιζόμενον. However, it seems that the required meaning should be different, e.g. “continually” συνεχῶς, “carefully” ἐπιμελῶς; cf. also *P.Freib.* IV 68, 21-23 (II-III A.D.) καὶ τε|θαρρημένως σαυτὸν ἐπίδος ἐπ[ὶ τ]ῆ τῶ[v] | σῶν φροντίδι.

In *P.Lond.* VI 1927, 10-15 (middle IV A.D.) the adverb modifies the present indicative ἀναφέρει, and it is placed right after that, ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ κἀγὼ μέλλω εὐθυμῆσθαι ὅταν ὁ ἀγαθὸς δοῦλος διὰ γραμμάτων[v] με προσδέξητα[ι] | καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐ[μ]οῦ εὐχὰς ἀναφέρει | προθύμως πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην | ἐν ἰλικρινεῖ διανοίᾳ.

In *P.Rainer Cent.* 161, 30-32 (V A.D.) <ε>ἰ δὲ θέλεις, | τελ<ε>ιώσω τὰ διὰ σοῦ ἔργα προθύμως ζήλοσόν (l. δήλωσόν) μοι, | ἵνα τελ<ε>ιώσω καὶ ἀποστελο (l. ἀποστελῶ) σοι, it is questionable whether it modifies the imperative δήλωσον (ζήλοσον in the papyrus) or the preceding verb τελειώσω: “if you want, I will execute your tasks readily; tell me so as to finish them and I will send you” or “if you want, I will execute your tasks; tell me readily so as to finish them and I will send you”. I think that the former is most probable.

In *P.Ant.* II 95, 13 (VI A.D.), a business letter, where the writer asks the receiver of the letter to give some orders so as he manages to execute some obligations, ll. 13-15 ποιῆσαί μοι τὸ ἐντολικὸν ἵνα εὔρω προθύμως Θεοῦ συνπράττοντος | καὶ συνάρσει τοῦ κυρίου Κοσμά τοῦ ἐμβολ[ά]τορος φροντίσαι τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπο|λειφθέντων ἡμῶν πραγμάτων.

In *PSI* III 238, 4-5 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ πιστεύω εἰς τὸν δεσπότην Θεὸν ὅτι πάντα | τὰ θεραπεύοντα τὴν αὐτοῦ παιδευσιν προθύμως ἔχω πρᾶξιαι, the adverb modifies the verb phrase ἔχω πρᾶξιαι, and it's placed right before that.

In *P.Berl. Zill.* 1, 1 (156-155 B.C.) and in *P.Vet. Aelii* 18, 37 (A.D. 222-255), where the adverb modifies the subjunctive δῶμ[ε]ν, the papyri are very fragmentary to decide on the structure of the texts.

## Ταχέως

The sender of a private letter usually indicates the concept of speed by using the adverb ταχέως: in particular it is found 67 times in the private letters<sup>141</sup>. Four of them are business letters<sup>142</sup>, and four others could be classified either as private or business ones. Most of them (41 instances<sup>143</sup>) are dated to the Roman period. Considerably less (24 instances<sup>144</sup>)

<sup>141</sup> It's also found 4 times in the formal letters (*BGU* I 8, 10; *O.Claud.* IV 890, 14; *Giss.* I 69, 12 and 17), and 14 times in other formal documents (*P.Ammon* II 38, 24; *P.Ammon* II 39, fr. c, 5; *P.Ammon* II 41, 28 and 38; *P.Ammon* II 45, 9 and 14; *P.Ness.* 60, 12; *P.Ness.* 61, 11; *P.Ness.* 62, 12; *P.Ness.* 63, 7; *P.Ness.* 64, 8; *P.Ness.* 66, 7; *P.Ness.* 67, 11; *P.Oxy.* XII 1408, 24). This suggests that the adverb belonged mainly to the informal vocabulary.

<sup>142</sup> *P.Berl. Sarisch.* 18, 4; *P.Col.* X 291, 11; *P.Mich.* I 21, 7; *P.Mich.* I 55, 6-7.

<sup>143</sup> *BGU* XVI 2655, 20 (21-20 B.C.); *P.Michael.* 15, 8 (c. A.D. 75-85); *P.Col.* X 252, 14 (last quarter of I A.D.); *SB* XXII 15708, 32 (c. A.D. 100); *P.Sarap.* 83, 16-17 (A.D. 90-133); *P.Heid.* III 234, 5-6 (I-II A.D.); *SB* VI 9272, 5 (I-II A.D.); *O.Claud.* I 138, 4 (A.D. 110); *P.Giss.* I 21, 11-12 (c. A.D. 113-115); *P.Brem.* 65, 6 (A.D. 116-120); *P.Wisc.* II 73, 16 (A.D. 122-123); *P.Mich.* VIII 477, 37 (first quarter of II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 479, 14 (first quarter of II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 481, 14-15 (first quarter of II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917, 10 (first quarter of II A.D.); *SB* XX 15180, 9 (c. A.D. 150); *BGU* III 698, 33 (II A.D.); *O.Eleph. DAIK* 96, 10 (II A.D.); *P.Hamb.* I 86, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* I 116, 9 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2860, 16 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 19 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3990, 17 (II A.D.); *O.Strasb.* I 788, 5 (II A.D.); *O.Wilck.* 1220, 9 (second half of II-first quarter of III A.D.); *P.Hamb.* I 54, r2, 4 (last quarter of II-first quarter of III A.D.); *BGU* II 450, 16 (II-III A.D.); *P.Fay.* 126, 7 (II-III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2985, 5 (II-III A.D.); *SB* XXII 15519, 4 (II-III A.D.); *P.Yale* I 83, 6 (c. A.D. 200); *P.Tebt.* II 423, 22 (first quarter of III A.D.); *P.Vet. Aelii* 18, 11 (c. A.D. 222-255); *P.Rein.* II 115, 8 (A.D. 257); *SB* XX 14453, 2 (A.D. 259); *SB* VI 9549, 4 (second half of III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4627, 6-7 (last quarter of III

are dated to the Byzantine period, and very few (only 4 instances<sup>145</sup>) date to the Ptolemaic period.

The position of the adverb in the clause structure is not fixed, but a careful observation of the changes made over the centuries could lead to some interesting assumptions. In 51 out of a total of 68 instances that *ταχέως* is used, it is placed before the verbal form that is modified by the adverb, and in only 14 instances it is placed after it. When the adverb is placed before the modified constituent, the speed seems to be more important than the action itself. Moreover the adverb is usually near the verbal form. In 28 out of the 51 instances (more than half of the whole) that the adverb precedes and in six out of the fourteen instances (nearly half of the whole) that it follows, it is right next to the verbal form. At any case, only a few words can be put between the adverbial and the verbal form modified, and there are no other verbal forms between them (except of *SB XXII 15708*, 32 *τοῦτο οὖν εἰδὼς [...]ταχέως ὃ τι ἐάν σοι δοκῇ γράψον*, where an indirect interrogative subordinate clause that is the object of the verb is placed in-between). The strength of the compound between the verb and the adverb is clearly demonstrated in *O.Eleph. DAIK 96*, 8-11 *Παμύθην υἰὸν Ἐσουήριος ἀναγκαίως πέμψατε ταχέως διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Καροῦρ*, where the adverb *ἀναγκαίως* refers to *πέμψατε ταχέως* as a whole, and not simply to the verb: the fast shipping is necessary; the shipping alone is not enough, and has no difference with no shipping at all.

A closer look on the matter shows that the position of the adverbial varies over time. In the Ptolemaic period *ταχέως* was placed only before the verbal form, judging from the four instances that are found hitherto. In the Roman period it was placed mostly before: in 32 instances it is placed before, whereas only in 7 cases it is placed after the constituent modified. In the Byzantine period it is placed before in 14 instances, and in 7 cases it is placed after the verbal form, which is a much less significant declination than the one observed in the Roman papyri. It seems that there are no particular reasons that make a Byzantine writer to put it in one place or another, and its place depends only on the preference and the style of the writer. A characteristic example of that particular tendency is

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A.D.); *P.Oxy.* VII 1070, 40 (III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1677, 7 (III A.D.); *P.Princ.* II 73, 5 (III A.D.); *P.Ryl.* IV 605, 26 (III A.D.).

<sup>144</sup> *P.Mich.* III 214, 20 (A.D. 297); *O.Kellis* 289, 2 (III-IV A.D.); *P.Kell.* I 65, 23 (first quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Kell.* I 66, 11 (first quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601, 26-27 (first quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Kell.* I 72, 43 (second-third quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 11 and 38 and 39 (last quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Giss.* I 103, 7 and 22-23 (IV A.D.); *P.Kell.* I 74, 13 (IV A.D.); *O.Douch* V 532, 4 (IV-first quarter of V A.D.); *SB XX* 14923, 11 (IV-V A.D.); *P.Giss.* I 54, 8 (IV-V A.D.); *P.Heid.* IV 333, 13 (V A.D.); *SB V* 7635, 7 and 17 (last quarter of V-first quarter of VI A.D.); *P.Col.* X 291, 11 (V-VI A.D.); *P.Harr.* I 159, 4 (V-VI A.D.); *PSI VII* 836, 12 (VI A.D.); *P.Fouad* I 85, 19 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Berl. Sarisch.* 18, 4 (first quarter of VII-VIII A.D.).

<sup>145</sup> *P.Mich.* I 21, 7 (before 257 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen II* 59251, 3 (252 B.C.); *P.Mich.* I 55, 6-7 (240 B.C.); *UPZ I* 60, 18 (179 or 167 B.C.).

*P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 11 and 38-39 [...] γράψ[ο]ν \αὐ/τῷ \ἢ τῷ/ ὅσπι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ [σ]οι ἵνα ταχέως πέμψωσίν μοι αὐτά... σπούδασον ἐλθῖν ταχέως πρὸς ἡμᾶς κἂν μὴ δύνη ταχέως ἐλθῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς... κἂν γράψον ἡμῖν πότε ἔρχη, ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖς εὐθυμήσωμ[ε]ν, in which ταχέως is found 3 times, two before (lines 11 and 39) and one after the verbal form (line 38).

Another aspect that should be examined is the verbal mood that is combined with the adverb. There are three verbal moods that are combined with the adverb ταχέως: indicative (seven instances), subjunctive (eleven instances), and imperative (24 instances). In 18 cases the adverb refers to an infinitive, mainly one that denotes purpose. In most of these cases the infinitive functions as a complement to a verb that has the meaning of desire, and the phrase can be translated as “I want something to be done quickly”. In just one instance the adverb refers to a participle. This means that the actions have not yet been performed, but somebody wants them to be done (subjunctive or infinitive), or thinks that they should be performed and orders the recipient to carry them out (imperative). Significantly, there are no past tenses among the verbs in indicative mood listed above. Therefore, the people then did not write about things that were done quickly, but about things that were about to be done quickly. *O.Claud.* I 138, 4-6 οἶδα εμετὸν (I. ἐμαυτὸν) ὅτει οὐδὲν κακὸν σοι ἐποίησα οὐδὲ ἐμείσησα ἅ μοι ταχέως ἐμείσησες provides a unique example of a past tense combined with ταχέως: it took you little time to hate me.

The verbs that are combined with the adverb ταχέως could be divided in three main groups. The first one contains verbs that are used by the sender to ask the recipient to send or receive something, like πέμπω (nine instances<sup>146</sup>), ἀποστέλλω (it is found twice<sup>147</sup>), and ἀποπέμπομαι (*P.Giss.* I 21, 11-12), ἐπιστέλλω (*SB* VI 9549, 4), δίδωμι (*P.Berl.Sarisch.* 18, 4), λαμβάνω (*O.Kellis* 289, 2), φέρομαι (*P.Harr.* I 159, 4). The second group contains verbs that are used by the sender to ask the recipient to come or be somewhere, like ἔρχομαι (eight instances<sup>148</sup>), παραγίγνομαι (three instances<sup>149</sup>), ἀνέρχομαι (it is found twice<sup>150</sup>), and ἀναβαίνω (*SB* VI 9272, 5), ἀναστρέφομαι (*P.Mich.* I 55, 6-7), ἀσπάζομαι (*P.Michael.* 15, 8), ἐπισκέπτομαι (*P.Mich.* I 21, 7), πάρεμι (*P.Cair.Zen.* II 59251, 3), σπεύδω (*P.Wisc.* II 73, 16). The third group contains verbs that are used by the sender to ask the recipient to write or to

<sup>146</sup> *BGU* XVI 2655, 20; *O.Eleph. DAIK* 96, 10; *P.Kell.* I 65, 23; *P.Kell.* I 74, 13; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 11; *P.Princ.* II 73, 5; *P.Sarap.* 83, 16-17; *SB* XX 14453, 2; *SB* XX 15180, 9.

<sup>147</sup> *O.Douch* V 532, 4; *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601, 26-27.

<sup>148</sup> *P.Mich.* III 214, 20; LVI 3860, 38 and 39; *P.Oxy.* LIX 3990, 17; *PSI* VII 836, 12; *P.Vet. Aelii* 18, 11; *SB* V 7635, 7; *O.Strasb.* I 788, 5.

<sup>149</sup> *BGU* II 450, 16; *P.Hamb.* I 86, 7; *UPZ* I 60, 18.

<sup>150</sup> *P.Fay.* 126, 7; *P.Mich.* VIII 481, 14-15.

respond to a letter, like δηλω<sup>151</sup>, γράφω<sup>152</sup> (five instances each), ἀντιγράφω (*P.Mich.* VIII 479, 14) and ἀπαντῶ (*SB* V 7635, 7). The verb καταλαμβάνω (six instances<sup>153</sup>) could belong either to the first or the second group depending on the context. There are also some other verbs that can be combined with ταχέως, like ἀπαλλάττομαι, γίγνομαι (each of them is found twice), and ἀναλίσκομαι (*P.Oxy.* XLI 2985, 5), ἀπαρτίζομαι (*P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917, 10), ἀπολύω (*P.Oxy.* I 116, 9), ἐκπλέκω (*P.Mich.* VIII 477, 37), μισῶ (*O.Claud.* I 138, 4), σφραγίζομαι (*P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 19).

It is pretty straightforward that the things that should be moved quickly in the second group are humans (mostly relatives or friends) and in the third group letters. When combined with a verb of these groups, ταχέως is firstly an adverbial of time, meaning *soon*, and secondly an adverbial of manner. The things that should be sent or received quickly are those that people considered as important or valuable in a rural society, like purple dye (*P.Kell.* I 74, 13), cabbages (*SB* VI 9549, 4), clean clothes (*SB* XX 15180, 9), agricultural products (*P.Berl.Sarisch.* 18, 4), letters (*O.Kellis* 289, 2), food for animals (*P.Harr.* I 159, 4), chaff (*P.Oxy.* XLI 2985, 5) and, of course, money (*P.Kell.* I 65, 23). The people that are going to carry the stuff, on whom the fast enterprise actually depends, are not usually mentioned. In *P.Kell.* I 65, 23 we read that the courier is a trustworthy person; in *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601, 26-27 the courier is just somebody else (i.e. not the sender); *SB* VI 9549, 4 is the only case that the name of the courier is provided: the man who will carry the cabbages is called Dionysios.

It is not unusual to find the adverb inside a subordinate clause of purpose. These are the cases of *BGU* II 450, 13-16 ἵνα εἰδῆ, ὅτι ἐγὼ αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχω καὶ προτρέψῃ αὐτὸν τ[α]χέως παρ[α]γενέ[σ]θαι, *P.Giss.* I 21, 11-12 [ἵ]να ταχέως ἀπ[ο]πεμφθῆ, *P.Mich.* I 55, 6-7 ἵνα ταχέως πρὸς με ἀναστρέφῃ, *P.Mich.* VIII 479, 13-15 ἵνα πρὸς τὰ | γραφέντα αὐτῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἀντιγ[ρ]άψῃ, *P.Oxy.* XLI 2985, 4-5 ἵνα μὴ ταχέως ἀναλωθῆ, *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 10-11 ἵνα ταχέως πέμψωσίν μοι αὐτά, and *P.Rein.* II 115, 7-9 ἵνα ἀπὸ τῶν ὠφελουμένων πάντων ἡ ἐργατεία βληθῆ καὶ ταχέως τὸ ἔργον γένηται. The concept is that there is an action, described in the sentence to which the subordinate clause refers to, which presupposes the fast accomplishment of the second action, the one described in the subordinate clause. Quite surprisingly, the opposite (i.e. the fast action to be the prerequisite to another action) is not so frequent, and is found only once, in *BGU* III 698, 33 εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ τ[α]χέως [...]. The chances to find ταχέως inside a concession subordinate clause are also very few. This is observed just

<sup>151</sup> *P.Col.* X 291, 11; *P.Heid.* III 234, 5-6; *P.Oxy.* VII 1070, 40; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1677, 7; *P.Tebt.* II 423, 22.

<sup>152</sup> *P.Col.* X 252, 14; *P.Hamb.* I 54, r2, 4; *P.Heid.* IV 333, 13; *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2860, 16; *SB* XXII 15708, 32.

<sup>153</sup> *P.Fouad* I 85, 19; *P.Giss.* I 54, 8; *P.Giss.* I 103, 7 and 22-23; *P.Kell.* I 72, 43; *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4627, 6-7.



once, in *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 39 κὰν μὴ δύνῃ ταχέως ἐλθῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. It's also unusual to find the adverb inside a subordinate clause of reason: there is just one instance, in *PSI* VII 836, 12 ἐπεὶ ταχέως εἰς πᾶσαν σπουδ[ήν] [...] κον ἔρχομαι.

It is possible that a conditional subordinate clause precedes, and describes the presuppositions of the fast accomplishment. These are the cases of *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917, 9-11 Ἰούλιος Ἔρωσ ἐῖ μὴ σε παρεκάλεσα ἐν τῷ Δαφνῶνι, ταχέως ἀπαρτίσει περὶ οὗ ἐντ[υγχά]νῃ (“if I did not beg you”), and *P.Sarap.* 83, 15-18 καὶ ἐὰν ἀρέ[σ]ῃ ἀναπλεῦσαι σε, ταχέως σοι διὰ Κα[λ]λίστου πέμψω (“if you like to sail”). *P.Michael.* 15, 7-8 θεῶν δὲ βουλομένων καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως σε ἀσπάσομαι should be mentioned among them, because here a conditional participle, instead of a clause, precedes: “if the gods want to”. Sometimes a subordinate clause of reason follows, and clarifies the reason of the hastiness, like in *P.Fay.* 126, 7-8 ἀνελθε οὖν ταχέως ὅτι ἐπίγῃ (“because it is urgent”), in *P.Kell.* I 65, 21-27 καὶ τὸ μικκὸν ἐλάδιον ἦν ἐάγῃς παρὰ σέ, πώλησον αὐτὰ καὶ ταχέως πέμψῃς τὴν τιμὴν διὰ πιστοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐπὶ χρείαν αὐτὸ <ἔχω> ἐνθάδε, ὅτι πολλὰ ζημία ἐγὼ ἐδόθη ἐνθάδε (“because I need it here”), in *P.Oxy.* LIX 3990, 16-19 κόμισ[αι] παρὰ τοῦ Θηβαίου σάκκον. ὄν πρ[ό]τρεψαι ταχέως ἐλθεῖν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι μέλλε[ι] μένειν (“because he is going to stay in the soil”), in *SB* XX 15180, 9-11 καὶ ταχέως πέμψον \τὰ καθάρια/ ἐπεὶ χρεία μοί ἐστιν Φίλωνι (“because I am in great need”), and in *O.Strasb.* I 788, 5-7 λοιπὸν ταχέως ἔρχεσθε, ἐπὶ ἐπάγουσι καὶ τέλ(ος) ἐμοὶ οὐ διδοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀποχὴν (“because they do not give me the money”). Sometimes this clarification is made by the use of a subordinate clause of purpose, like in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1677, 7-9 ταχέως δήλωσον ἡμῖν διὰ φάσεως <ὡς> \ἀπέσχε[ς]/, ἵνα μὴ βαρήσεις ἀνθρώποις γράψαι σοι ἐπιστολίδι/ον, ἵνα μὴ ὀχληρὰ γένη παρ’ ἀνθρώποις (“in order not to be annoying”), *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2860, 16-17 ταχέως οὖν μοι γράψον ἵνα εὖψυχῶ [...] (“in order to be of good courage”), and in *SB* V 7635, 17-19 ταχέως ἀπάντησον, ἵνα σὺν θεῷ κοινῶς τὴν πανήγυριν ποιήσωμεν (“in order to do the feast”). *P.Hamb.* I 86, 7, *P.Hamb.* I 54, r2, 4 and *P.Tebt.* II 423, 22 deserve a special reference: in these cases a conditional subordinate clause precedes, and one of purpose follows. Specifically, as far as the former is concerned, in l. 5-10 ἐὰν μεθ’ ὑγίας ἐκπλέξης σατόν, ταχέως πρὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραγενοῦ, ἵνα, ἂν δυνασθῶμεν, τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικρεῖναι we read that the recipient should come before the ruler, if he finishes his job on time and if he is healthy, in order to make *epikrisis* (the infinitive ἐπικρεῖναι should be regularized as ἐπικρῖναι) of his son. In the second example in l. 1-9 μὴ οὖν κατάσχη[ς] τὸ πλοῖον. εἰ δ’ οὖν, ἀλλ[ὰ] ταχέως μοι γράψον ὅτι οὐ διαπένπη μοι, ἵνα κἀγὼ τὸ πλοῖον ἀπολύσω we read that if the recipient brings the ship to land, he should inform the sender, in order to let another ship depart. In the third example in l. 20-23 ἐ[ὰ]ν

γενων πρὸς σε ο[ἰ] γεωργοὶ θέλο[ντες] σπέρ[ματ]α δή[λω]σόν μοι ταχ[έως] ἵνα π[έμ]ψω  
 ποθὲν αὐτοῖς μέτρ[α τιν]ά we read that the recipient should write a letter fast, if the farmers  
 come to him and ask for seeds, in order that the sender may send a few measures to them.  
 Finally, it is possible that a subordinate clause of time follows in order to define how fast  
 something should be, like in P.Rein. II 115, 6-11 [...] ἀπέστειλα πρὸς ὑμᾶς στρατιώτην, ἵνα  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὠφελουμένων πάντων ἢ ἐργατεία βληθῆ καὶ ταχέως τὸ ἔργον γένηται πρὶν τοῦ  
 ποτισμοῦ τοῦ κατεπείγοντος πρὸς τὸ εὐμαρῶς τὰ ὕδατα πάντας ἡμᾶς ἔχειν [...] (before the  
 watering time).

Two cases, where ταχέως is used, were not taken into consideration in this research,  
 because there are no valid grounds for the supplementation of the adverb. These are the cases  
 of *SB* VI 9158, 10-11 (θέλησον δὲ τα[χέως] ἐξαποστεῖλαι) and *SB* XIV 11900, 8-9 (νῦν δὲ  
 παρακ[αλοῦμέν] [σε ἵνα ταχέως], καθὼς ἐτάξω, παραγενέσθα[ι ἡμῖν.]). In the first case the  
 infinitive ἐξαποστεῖλαι is also supplemented *exempli gratia*. There are also three cases that  
 were included in the research, but should be revised. The first one is in *BGU* XVI 2655, 19-  
 210 (εἰδὼς ὅτι παντῶς σε δεῖ ἀποδοῦναι πέμψομεν ταχε. πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν), where ταχε.  
 should be corrected to ταχέως instead of τάχεως (found in *DDbDP*). *P.Giss.* I 54, 8-9 (τάχεως  
 καταλαβ' [ἐπ]ὶ τον τόπον, ἵνα καταλάβῃς τὰ πλοῖα τῆς νέας ἑκτα[γ]ῆς.) is a similar case,  
 where one should read ταχέως and not τάχεως. Finally, in *PSI* VII 836, 12 ([...] ἐπεὶ ταχέος  
 εἰς πᾶσαν σπουδ[ὴν] [...] κον ἔρχομαι [...]) ταχέος should be regularised to ταχέως.

### **Part three: Adverbs in -ως with temporal connotations in formal and official correspondence.**

#### **Ἀγρύπνως**

It is not used with the literal meaning “passing sleepless nights”, but metaphorically “wakefully”. Its first instance is in an official inscription of 42 B.C. in the Egyptian Thebes (*OGIS* 194, 23); it is then found in two Byzantine documents, *P.Cair. Masp.* II 67156 A, 11 (A.D. 570; Antinoopolis), a private contract, and *P.Pommersf.* 1, 476 (second half of VI A.D.; Constantinople or Italy), a fragmentary official document.

#### **Ἀδιακωλύτως and ἀκωλύτως**

Both mean “without hindrance, unhindered” and are found in contracts (e.g. sales, leases and division of land etc.)

#### **Ἀενάως**

It is attested only once, in a formal letter, *P.Lond.* IV 1349, 33-35 (A.D. 710) ἢ ἐξάνυσης τῶν δημοσίων ἐστὶ τοῦ | ἐμπόνως καὶ ἀενάως | κ[α]τὰ διάνοιαν ἔχειν, and means “everlastingly”. In literature it is found only in Aristotle 346b15. On the other hand, the adjective ἀέναος is found in a papyrus of the Ptolemaic period, *UPZ* I 14, 31-33 (158 B.C.) τούτου δὲ γενομένου ἔσομαι δι’ ὑμᾶς ἐσχηκῶς τὸν βίον τὸ[v] ἀέναον χρόνον. In the Byzantine period the adjective is attributed only to God.

#### **Αἰωνίως**

It is always found in formal documents of the Byzantine period (three contracts of sale, one petition, one will, and one division of inherited property) and is used in legal clauses for “perpetually”.

#### **Ἀνελλείπτως**

The adverb ἀνελλείπτως is formed from the adjective ἀνέλλειπτος, and means “ceaselessly”; see LSJ s.v. The spelling ἀνελλίπτως is found twice in a contract of a settlement of a debt within a family, *P.Petra* III 29, 61 and 130 (A.D. 582-592).

### **Ἄνεμποδίστως**

The adverb is found in a variety of private contracts (e.g. sales of houses, wills and divisions of inherited property etc.), and official documents (e.g. royal decrees, petitions, court proceedings, registrations) modifying various verbs in all periods. In four instances the adverb appears in official letters: *P.Apoll.* 15, 4, *P.Köln* XII 479, 27, *SB* XII 11078, 18 and *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 5, 25. Only in *SB* XX 14218, 2 (VI A.D.) it modifies the infinitive ἐνεγκεῖν, and is placed after that, παρασκευάσω τοὺς καμηλίτας ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ ὠμόπλινθα ἀνεμποδίστως.

### **Ἀπροόπτως**

*P.Amh.* II 154, 7-8 (ca. A.D. 643-644) ἐπειδὴ ἀπροόπτως πρᾶγμα οὐ θέλω ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν μὴ ἀκριβεύσωμαι ἀφ’ ὑμῶν περὶ | ἐκάστου πράγματος, a business letter, and the meaning is “unexpectedly, not realizing beforehand”.

### **Ἀπροσδοκῆτως**

*P.Fay.* 19, 2-4 (II A.D.) οὔτε ἀφ[ρ]εῖ οὔτε ἀλόγως οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπ[ροσ]δοκῆτω[ς] | [οὔτε ἀνοή]τως ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ βίου, is a letter of the Emperor Hadrian. The adverb ἀπ[ροσ]δοκῆτω[ς] precedes and modifies the present indicative ἀπαλλάσσομαι.

### **Ἀπροσκέπτως**

It is only found in *SB* I 5675, 11-12 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 30-31 (183 B.C.), καὶ τοὺς μὲν | εἰκῆι κ[α]ὶ ἀπροσκέπτως ἀνάγοντάς τινας ἐπιπλήσσετε, a royal decree. The meaning “unexpectedly” or “improvidently” is justified from the context and one should not understand here the adverb ἀπροσκέπτως as a mistake for ἀπροσκόπτως, “without stumbling”, which is attested in late byzantine literary texts. The adjective ἀπρόσκεπτος appears in literary texts of the fourth cent. B.C. and is explained by Demosthenes (D. 51.15 τῶν μὲν τοίνυν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ παθεῖν μανθάνοντας ἀπροσκέπτους ὀνομάζομεν); cf. X., *Lac.* 13.8. The adverb ἀπροσκέπτως is found only in Antiph. fr. 195 (Kock) (apud Athenaeus), 7-9 ὅς’ ἂν μόνον | τύχη τις εἰπών, ταῦτ’ ἀπροσκέπτως ποιεῖν | ἅπαντα.

### **Διαταχαίως**

The reading διαταχαίως translates the Latin *iam iamque* (“at this very time, precisely now”) in *P.Sakaon* 33, 13 and 23 (A.D. 320). The translator probably intended to use a prepositional structure (e.g. διὰ τάχους?), but, as he preferred to provide a Greek adverb to

translate the Latin *iam iamque*, he coined a new and unique adverb. The spelling διαταχάϊως should be probably corrected to διαταχέως.

### **Δυενιαυσίως**

This reading is certain and is found in a contract of a loan of money, *P.Amh.* II 148, 8 (A.D. 487). It is a scribal mistake for δύο ἐνιαυσίως or δις ἐνιαυσίως.

### **Ἐμπροθέσμως and ἐνπροθέσμως**

Only in official documents, e.g. loan contracts, petitions, deeds of surety, official letters, registrations, payments of fine etc.

### **Ἐνιαυσίως**

It is not attested in private letters, but it is used only in private contracts and accounts and in one official letter (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 8, 11).

### **Ἐπιμηνίως**

The adverb is restored in an account, *O.Bodl.* II 1861, 9 [ἐπι]μ[ηνί]ως πείνομεν (l. πίνουμεν) κατὰ τὰς αἰορτὰς (l. ἐορτὰς) τῆς Ἰσίδος, but this restoration should be rejected because only three letters are certain, and the editor introduces an hapax legomenon.

### **Ἐσχάτως**

It is found twice in a petition to a *strategos*, *P.Harr.* II 192, 15 and 22 (A.D. 167), but the text is fragmentary and it is not certain whether it is used as an adverb of time (“last, to the end”) or of manner (“to the uttermost, exceedingly”).

### **Ἐτησίως**

It is only found in contracts, wills, adoptions, petitions, land-survey and official letters.

### **Ἡμερουσίως**

This spelling instead of ἡμερησίως is attested only in the byzantine contracts (mid-fourth to seventh century A.D.). Therefore *SB X 10217*, a contract which its editor dates to the third-fourth century A.D., should be dated to the late fourth century A.D. The handwriting

is comparable to the hands of PAPPAL (<http://www.pappal.info/sample/show/6337>). Obviously the wrong spelling is affected by the adjectives in -ούσιος.

### **Ὀψίμως**

The adverb is found only in official documents (reports and letters).

### **Ταχείως**

A variant spelling of ταχέως is restored in the official letter *BGU XV 2467, 9* (A.D. 190) φ[ρό]ντισον ταχεί[ω]ς φέ[ρ]ειν (?). However, since the only attestation of the spelling ταχείως is provided by this papyrus, one could assume that what the editor read as the letter τ could just be the left part of the letter ω. If this is the case, ταχέως φε[ρ]ειν should be read in this document.

## Conclusions

There are indeed adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , which may indicate, or give information about, the time an event or an action has taken place or is about to take place. Therefore, the view that adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  always denote manner, as expressed in traditional grammars, is oversimplified. Most of them actually do so, but not all of them.

These adverbs can be divided into two large groups, depending on the effort required on the part of the reader to identify the linguistic information about the time: the adverbs of the first group denote time directly, whereas pragmatic reasoning is needed, so that the temporal nuance of the adverbs of the second group can be detected. The classification is:

- universal, because it does not leave any adverbs behind.
- rigorous, because it does not allow an adverb to be considered as a member of both groups.
- highly informative, since it clarifies that processes of different nature are involved in making the temporal information of the adverbs of each group intelligible: semantic processes in the case of the adverbs of the first group, and pragmatic processes in the case of the adverbs of the second group.

## Semantics

A relation between the possible question, which is answered by the adverb, and the adverb itself, activates the pragmatic reasoning. This relation is also put forth by the classification, which is based on pragmatic criteria. The adverbs of the first group answer the question “when?”, while the adverbs of the second group answer the question “how?”.

These adverbs could also be classified on the basis of semantic criteria (a group would contain adverbs denoting sequence, and another group would contain adverbs denoting frequency), or on the basis of syntactic criteria (depending on the modified constituents, and their placement in the phrase structure). The classification based on pragmatic criteria was preferred, because it satisfies all the three prerequisites (universality, rigor and informativity). A classification based on syntactic criteria would be neither universal nor rigorous, and a classification based on semantic criteria would be barely informative.

The semantic representation of an adverb of the first group is usually a function of the meaning of the adverb itself, that is, it cannot be resolved as an adjective. The same pattern applies to the temporal adverbs in general. On the other hand, the semantic representation of an adverb of the second group has usually the form which applies to the adverbs of manner.

The meaning of the adverb is a function of the meaning of the corresponding adjective. Still, the adverbs of the second group provide information about time, which is yet the result of a pragmatic process.

The pragmatic reasoning is triggered by the assumption that the information provided by the adverb would be of no interest to the reader if it denoted manner. What the sender and the recipient of a private letter are mainly interested in, is the time of the fulfillment of a certain operation, rather than the path to be followed towards that fulfillment. Even if the manner is what is described, this happens because manner somehow affects the time. Thus, taking into consideration the Relevance Theory, these adverbs indicate time as well.

Forming an answer to the question why somebody preferred to use an adverb in  $-\omega\varsigma$  instead of an equivalent syntactic structure, which includes a word produced from the same stem as the adverb is not possible here. However, the question why somebody preferred to use an adverb in  $-\omega\varsigma$  instead of a more definite temporal adverb can be answered. Imponderable factors may affect the time an event takes place. The sender of a private letter may, or may not know, exactly when what he describes is going to happen. When he says that something will arrive on time  $t$ , that means that the time is predetermined and non-negotiable. On the other hand, when he says that something will arrive soon, the time is relative and indeterminate.

Technically, this is the difference between the adverbs that denote time, and end in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , and those that denote time and do not end in  $-\omega\varsigma$ : somebody can formulate precise rules for the truth-conditions of the latter, while he cannot for the truth-conditions of those ending in  $-\omega\varsigma$ . When someone says that something will arrive on time  $t$ , that means that if it actually arrives on time  $t$ , his proposition is true. If not, it is false. On the other hand, when he says that something will arrive soon, one can not formulate a criterion, according to which the proposition would qualify as true or false. In fact, these adverbs describe time as an ill-defined set. Even the measure of time is not defined, when these adverbs are used.

## **Syntax**

Almost all of these adverbs are inner complements of the modified verbs in the deep structure, and alter their meaning substantially. What really matters is not only what the verb describes happening, but also what is to happen in the time specified by the adverb. If it happens later, most probably the very event becomes meaningless, and there would not be any difference if did not take place at all.



Certain adverbs, such as διηλεκῶς, εὐθέως, ἡμερησίως, προθύμως, πυκνῶς and συνεχῶς, are often parts of formulaic expressions.

The modified constituents may be placed at any tense and any mood, provided that they are allowed by the meaning of the adverb, e.g. the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως rules out the use of simple tenses, since it describes recurrent actions. There is also a wide variety of verbs that can be modified by these adverbs. The most common among them are the ones with the meaning “to send”, “to write” and “to come” or “to go”.

The position of the adverbs in the phrase structure is not fixed either. In some cases the adverb is placed before the modified constituent:

- The adverbs ἀνόκνως, ἀόκνως and εὐθέως usually precede the modified constituent.
- The adverbs αἰφνιδίως, ἀρτίως, βραδέως, δυσόκνως, πρώτως, πυκνῶς and σπανίως always precede the modified constituent, but they are attested in very few private letters, so the existing sample may not be representative, and it does not allow for safe conclusions.

In some cases the adverb is placed after the modified constituent:

- The adverbs εὐθέως, εὐκαίρως, ἡμερησίως and προθύμως usually follow the modified constituent.
- The adverbs ἀκαίρως, ἀνυπερθέτως and διηλεκῶς always follow the modified constituent, but they are attested in very few private letters, so the existing sample may not be representative, and does not allow for safe conclusions.

Finally, the adverbs ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀνελλιπῶς, εὐτάκτως, ὀλιγώρως, συνεχῶς, συντόμως, ταχέως, ὑπογύως and ὑπογύως sometimes precede and sometimes follow the modified constituent. The adverb ἐπιμελῶς normally follows the modified constituent, when construed with verbs, which have the meaning “to write”, sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the modified constituent, when construed with verbs, which have the meaning “to send”, and usually precedes the modified constituent, when construed with verbs, which mean something else.

## Use

The adverbs with the higher concentration in the private letters are the adverb εὐθέως from the first group, and ταχέως from the second one. The adverbs ἄφρωνος, ἐξάφρωνος, μηνιαίως, ὀκνηρῶς and συχνῶς probably do not occur at all, although the editors have read,

or restored, them in some texts. The texts, in which they are found, should probably be revised and corrected.

The adverbs ἀόκνως, εὐθέως, προθύμως, and ταχέως are attested in private letters of all three periods, namely the Ptolemaic, the Roman, and the Byzantine. All the other adverbs are attested in private letters of certain periods only.

- The adverbs εὐτάκτως and ὀλιγώρως were used only in private letters of the Ptolemaic period.
- The adverb δυσόκνως occurs only once, in a private letter of the Ptolemaic or the early Roman period.
- The adverbs αἰφνιδίως and βραδέως are attested only in private letters of the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods.
- The adverb ἐπιμελῶς was used in all three periods, but it seems that only in the Ptolemaic and in the Roman periods did it retain its temporal connotations.
- The adverbs ὑπογύιως and ὑπογύως are attested only in private letters of the Roman period.
- The adverbs ἀνυπερθέτως, διηνεκῶς and πρώτως can be found only in private letters of the Roman period. However, the possibility that they could have been used in private letters of other periods, now lost, should not be excluded.
- The adverb ἡμερησίως was used only in private letters of the Roman and the early Byzantine periods.
- The adverbs ἀρτίως, ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀνελλιπῶς, ἀνόκνως and συνεχῶς are attested in private letters of the Roman and the Byzantine periods.
- The adverbs πυκνῶς and σπανίως can be found only in private letters of the Byzantine period. However, the possibility that they could have been used in private letters of other periods, now lost, should not be excluded.
- The adverb ἀκαίρως occurs almost exclusively in private letters of the Byzantine period, the one exception being a letter from the Ptolemaic period.
- The adverb συντόμως is attested in private letters of the Ptolemaic and the Byzantine periods, but it cannot be found in any private letters of the Roman period.

The adverbs ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀκαίρως, ἀνελλιπῶς, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἀρτίως, διηνεκῶς, εὐτάκτως, πρώτως, ὑπογύιως and ὑπογύως are very often attested in official and formal documents, and their use in private correspondence, which is not at all common, is certainly influenced by the formal vocabulary. The adverbs ἐπιμελῶς and εὐκαίρως are also very often

attested in official and formal documents, and their use in private correspondence, which is also common, could well have been influenced by the formal vocabulary.

On the other hand, the adverbs *ἀνόκως*, *συνεχῶς*, *συντόμως* and *ταχέως* are rarely or never attested in official or formal documents, therefore their use in private letters indicates that they belong to the informal vocabulary. The adverbs *αιφνιδίως*, *δυσόκως*, *πυκνῶς* and *σπανίως* are rarely or never attested in official or formal documents, but there are not enough examples of their use, so that somebody could not prove that their use in private letters indicates that they belong to the informal vocabulary.

Finally, the adverbs *ἀόκως*, *εὐθέως*, *ἡμερησίως* and *προθύμως* are often found both in official and formal documents, and in private letters, and nobody could argue that their use in the first type of documents influenced their use in the latter type of documents, and vice versa. The adverb *ὀλιγῶρος* occurs once in a formal document, once in a business letter, and once in an official letter. The adverb *βραδέως* is attested too often in official and formal documents, but it bears a different meaning from that, which is found in the private letters, so each of the two different uses were not influenced by the other.

Therefore, the use of a large proportion of the adverbs in the private letters has been influenced from their use as parts of the formal vocabulary.

The non-literal use of some adverbs, as in the case of *ἀδιαλείπτως*, may indicate a higher level of linguistic competence by the writers who use them. Very often the use of these adverbs aims at creating an expression of politeness, since the adverbs themselves make the time of actualization of an event or an action relative. So, whether they were used in order to describe the action of the sender or the recipient of a letter, they reveal that the time an event takes place is indeed a significant factor, but not unconditional or intolerant. It may be considered that there are two cases of orientation, depending on the scope of the adverbs: towards the agent, whose actions are bound by the temporal restrictions set by the adverbs, and towards the result, which should be carried out at a given, definite or indefinite, period of time.

- In the first case, in which there is orientation towards the agent, the sender will have done his duty, simply by doing something quickly or continuously, regardless of when the recipient will reap the benefits of this action.
- In the second case, where there is orientation towards the result, politeness is achieved by the preference at an adverb in *-ως* over a pure temporal adverb: it is much more

polite to ask someone to send something quickly, than to ask him to send it now or on a given time  $t$ .

Last, special reference should be made to the author of *SB XIV 11584*, who shows a clear preference for adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$ . It seems that he is a man with a high level of linguistic competence. Although the text is written in a hurry, and the content is about entirely personal matters, the style and the selection of words reveal that it was written by a well educated person.

## Tables

1. List of the adverbs in -ως with direct temporal connotations, which are attested in the private letters

ἀκαίρως	πρώτως	συντόμως
ἀνυπερθέτως	πυκνῶς	συχνῶς
ἀρτίως	σπανίως	ὑπογυίως
εὐθέως	συνεχῶς	ὑπογύως

2. List of the adverbs in -ως with indirect temporal connotations, which are attested in the private letters

ἀδιαλείπτως	βραδέως	ἡμερησίως
αἰφνιδίως	διηνεκῶς	μηνιαίως
ἀνελλιπῶς	δυσόκνως	ὀκνηρῶς
ἀνόκνως	ἐξάφνως	ὀλιγώρως
ἀόκνως	ἐπιμελῶς	προθύμως
ἄφνως	εὐτάκτως	ταχέως

3. List of the adverbs in -ως with temporal connotations, which are attested only in formal documents

ἀγρύπνως	ἀπροόπτως	ἐνπροθέσμως
ἀδιακωλύτως	ἀπροσδοκῆτως	ἐπιμηνίως
ἀενάως	ἀπροσκέπτως	ἐσχάτως
αἰωνίως	διαταχαίως	ἐτησίως
ἀκωλύτως	δυενιαυσίως	ἡμερουσίως
ἀνελλείπτως	ἐμπροθέσμως	ὀψίμως
ἀνεμποδίστως	ἐνιαυσίως	ταχείως

4. List of the adverbs in -ως (spelled as they appear in DDBDP).

A	ἀκαίρως	ἀναμφιλέκτως
ἀβαρῶς	ἀκάλως	ἀναμφιλόγως
ἀβασανίστως	ἀκαταλλήλως	ἀναμφισβητήτως
ἀβασκάντως	ἀκεραίως	ἀνανκαίως
ἀβλαβῶς	ἀκαθυστερήτως	ἀναντιρρήτως
ἀγαπητῶς	ἀκαταγνώστως	ἀναποδείκτως
ἀγελοίως	ἀκαταλλήλως	ἀναποκρίτως
ἀγνωμόνως	ἀκαταφρονήτως	ἀναφαιρέτως
ἀγογγύστως	ἀκινδύνως	ἀνεγκλήτως
ἀγράφως	ἀκοιλάντως	ἀνελεῶς
ἀγρίως	ἀκολάστως	ἀνελλείπτως
ἀγρυπνίστως	ἀκολούθως	ἀνελλίπως
ἀγρύπνως	ἀκολουθῶς	ἀνελλιπῶς
ἀδελφικῶς	ἀκολύτως	ἀνεμποδίστως
ἀδεῶς	ἀκόσμως	ἀενδεῶς
ἀδήλως	ἀκριβῶς	ἀενδοιάστως
ἀδιαθέτως	ἀκρίτως	ἀενδότως
ἀδιαιρέτως	ἄκρως	ἀενκλήτως
ἀδιακρίτως	ἀκυλάντως	ἀενποδίστως
ἀδιακωλύτως	ἀκωλύτως	ἀνεπηρεάστως
ἀδιαλείπτως	ἀλειποτάκτως	ἀνεπικολύτως
ἀδιαλίπτως	ἀληθῶς	ἀνεπικωλύτως
ἀδιανεμητῶς	ἀλλοίως	ἀνεπιρρήτως
ἀδιανοήτως	ἀλλοτριῶς	ἀνεστραμμένως
ἀδιαστρόφως	ἀλληλεγγύως	ἀνευρησιλογητῶς
ἀδιαφόρως	ἀλλῶς	ἀνθρωπίνως
ἀδικῶς	ἄλλως	ἀνισπράκτως
ἀδίκως	ἀλόγως	ἀνίσως
ἀδιστάκτως	ἀλύπως	ἀνοήτως
ἀδόλως	ἀλωβήτως	ἀνόκνως
ἀδράστως	ἀμάχως	ἀνόμως
ἀδυνάτως	ἀμειώτως	ἀντιθέτως
ἀειμνάτως	ἀμελῶς	ἀνυερθέτως
ἀελῶς	ἀμέμπτως	ἀνυπερθέτως
ἀενάως	ἀμεμψιμοιρήτως	ἀνυπολόγως
ἀέργως	ἀμεριμνῶς	ἀνωφελῶς
ἀζηλοπραγμόνως	ἀμερίμνως	ἀξιοπίστως
ἀζημίως	ἀμεταθέτως	ἀξίως
ἀηδῶς	ἀμετανοήτως	ἀόκνως
ἀθέσμως	ἀμοιβαίως	ἀπανθρώπως
ἀθρόως	ἀμφιβόλως	ἀπαξαπλῶς
ἀθύμως	ἀναγκαίως	ἀπαραβάτως
αἰδεσίμως	ἀναιδῶς	ἀπαραιτήτως
αἰδημόνως	ἀναισθήτως	ἀπαρακλήτως
αἰσίως	ἀναιτίως	ἀπαραλείπτως
αἰσχυρῶς	ἀναλογούντως	ἀπαραλλάκτως
αἰφνιδίως	ἀναλόγως	ἀπαρανοχλήτως
αἰωνίως	ἀναμφιβόλως	ἀπαραποδίστως

ἀπαρενογλήτως  
ἀπαύστως  
ἀπείρω  
ἀπερισκέπτως  
ἀπερισπάστως  
ἀπεριφρονήτως  
ἀπευκταίως  
ἀπλῶς  
ἀποκρότως  
ἀποστατικῶς  
ἀπραγμόνως  
ἀπράκτως  
ἀπροκρίτως  
ἀπροόπτως  
ἀπροσδοκῆτως  
ἀπροσκέπτως  
ἀπροσκόπτως  
ἀπροφασίστως  
ἀραβικῶς  
ἀραδιουργῆτως  
ἀργυρικῶς  
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ἀρκούντως  
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ἀρμολζόντως  
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**Β**  
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ήδέῶς  
ήμερησίῶς  
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ήρέμῶς  
ήσυχίῶς  
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θαυμαστῶς  
θειωδῶς  
θειώδῶς  
θείῶς  
θερμῶς  
θυμικῶς

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ιδιαζόντῶς  
ιδικῶς  
ιδίῶς  
ιδιωτικῶς  
ιερατικῶς  
ικανῶς

ίλαρῶς  
ίσχυρῶς  
ἴσῶς

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καθαρίῶς  
καθαρῶς  
καθηκόντῶς  
καθολικῶς  
καινῶς  
κακῶς  
κακοπραγμόνῶς  
κακοσχόλῶς  
κακοτρόπῶς  
καλοθελῶς  
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καταξίῶς  
κατασπουδαίῶς  
κενῶς  
κεχαρισμένῶς  
κεχωρισμένῶς  
κλεψιμαίῶς  
κοινῶς  
κομψῶς  
κοσμίῶς  
κρυπτῶς  
κυνῶς  
κυριευτικῶς  
κυρίῶς

Λ  
λαθραίῶς  
λαμπρῶς  
ληστρικῶς  
λυσιτελῶς

Μ  
μαλακῶς  
ματαίῶς  
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μεγαλῶς  
μεγάλῶς  
μεταπαθῶς  
μετρίῶς  
μηδαμῶς  
μηθαμῶς  
μηνιαίῶς  
μικρῶς  
μισοπονήρῶς  
μοναχῶς



μονίμως  
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νενομισμένως  
νομίμως

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οϊκείως  
οϊκτρῶς  
ὀκνηρῶς  
ὀλιγίστως  
ὀλιγῶρως  
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ὀμολογουμένως  
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ὀρθῶς  
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ὀχλικῶς  
ὀψίμως

Π  
πανεξόχως  
πανκάκως  
παντελῶς  
παντοδαπῶς  
παντοίως  
παντῶς  
πάντως  
παρανόμως  
παρέργως  
πασπάντως  
παχυμερῶς  
πεπεισμένως  
περιέργως  
περισσότερως  
περισσῶς

περιττῶς  
περιφανῶς  
πεφροντισμένως  
πικρῶς  
πιστεῶς  
πιστῶς  
πλαγίως  
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πλήρως  
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πολλαπλασίως  
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πολυτελεστέρως  
πονηρῶς  
ποσῶς  
πραέως  
πράως  
πρεπόντως  
προηγούμενως  
προηγουμένως  
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προνοητικῶς  
προοφθάλμως  
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προσεχόντως  
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προστακτικῶς  
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προφανῶς  
προχείρως  
πρωινῶς  
πρωτοτύπως  
πρώτως  
πυκνοτέρως  
πυκνῶς

P  
ράδιως  
ῥητῶς  
ῥιποκινδύνως

Σ  
σαπρῶς  
σαφεστέρως  
σαφῶς

σεμνῶς  
σκολιῶς  
σμικρομερῶς  
σμικρῶς  
σοβαρῶς  
σοφῶς  
σπανίως  
σπουδαίως  
στενῶς  
στοιχειωδῶς  
στυγνοτέρως  
συμμέτρως  
συμφώνως  
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συντετηρημένως  
συντόμως  
συνφώνως  
συχνῶς  
σφοδρῶς  
σωματικῶς  
σωτηρίως  
σωφρόνως

T  
ταχείως  
τάχεως  
ταχέως  
τεθαρρημένως  
τελείως  
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τέως  
τολμηρῶς  
τριπλασίως  
τυραννικῶς  
τυχόντως

Υ  
ὕβριστικῶς  
ὕγειῶς  
ὕγιαίνως  
ὕγιως  
ὕπεναντίως  
ὕπερσκληρῶς  
ὕπερηφάνως  
ὕπογυίως  
ὕπογύως  
ὕπολόγως

ὑπόπτως  
ὑποστατικῶς  
ὑποτακτικῶς

Φ  
φανερῶς  
φαύλως  
φθονερῶς  
φιλανθρώπως  
φιλικῶς  
φιλοπόνως  
φιλοστόργως  
φιλοτίμως  
φιλοφρόνως  
φοβερῶς  
φρονίμως

Χ  
χαλεπῶς  
χρηματικῶς

Ψ  
ψευδῶς  
ψιλῶς

Ω  
ώκέως  
ώσαύτως

5. Table of regularizations and corrections of typos in DDBDP proposed about some adverbs in -ως.

Regularisation	Papyrus/i / Ostrakon/a	LSJ entry / Gignac
ἀδιαλίπτως → ἀδιαλείπτως	<i>W.Chr.</i> 331, 45 <i>P.Giss.</i> I 67, 6-7	LSJ s.v. ἀδιάλειπτος Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 67 and 189
ἀδικῶς → ἀδίκως	<i>P.Col.</i> III 18, 2	LSJ s.v. ἄδικος IV
ἀελῶς → ἀμελῶς	<i>CPR XXIV</i> 2, 13	LSJ s.v. ἀμελῆς
ἀκολουθῶς → ἀκολούθως	<i>SPP XX</i> 69, 15	LSJ s.v. ἀκόλουθος 3
ἀκολύτως → ἀκωλύτως	<i>P.Flor.</i> I 93, 24	LSJ s.v. ἀκόλυτος Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 276-277
ἀκυλάντως → ἀκοιλάντως	<i>P.Gen.</i> IV 188, 20	LSJ s.v. ἀκοιλάντως Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 197-198
ἀλειποτάκτως → ἀλιποτάκτως	<i>P.Med.</i> I 48, 6	there is no LSJ entry Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 190-191
ἀλλῶς → ἄλλως	<i>P.Apoll.</i> 41, 10	LSJ s.v. ἄλλως
ἀμεριμνῶς → ἀμερίμνω	<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> V 6, 19	LSJ s.v. ἀμέριμνος I
ἀνανκαίως → ἀναγκαίως	<i>BGU VII</i> 1574, 19 <i>O.Claud.</i> II 299, 3-4 <i>P.Petaus</i> 12, 12 <i>PSI Com.</i> 14, 19 <i>SPP V</i> 101, 11	LSJ s.v. ἀναγκαῖος III Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 171
ἀνελλίπως → ἀνελλιπῶς	<i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> III 67314, Fr3, 17	LSJ s.v. ἀνελλιπής
ἀνεγκλήτως → ἀνεγκλήτως	<i>P.Heid.</i> IV 326, 19	LSJ s.v. ἀνέγκλητος III (?) Gignac <i>Gram.</i> I, 168
ἀνεμποδίστως → ἀνεμποδίστως	<i>BGU I</i> 7, 8-9 <i>P.Diog.</i> 16, 26	LSJ s.v. ἀνεμπόδιστος I Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 168
ἀνεπικολύτως → ἀνεπικωλύτως	<i>SB I</i> 5558, 43	LSJ s.v. ἀνεπικόλυτος Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 276-277
ἀνισπράκτως → ἀνεισπράκτως	<i>P.Kron.</i> 38, 16	LSJ s.v. ἀνείσπρακτος Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 189-190
ἀνόκνω	<i>P.Corn.</i> 49, 11 <i>P.Fay.</i> 130, 14-15 <i>P.Harr.</i> I 63, 8	LSJ s.v. ἄοκνω LSJ s.v. ἀνόκνω

	<p><i>P.Mert.</i> II 62, 12  <i>P.Mich.</i> VIII 482, 5-6  <i>P.Mich.</i> VIII 498, 14  <i>P.Mich.</i> XV 751, 10  <i>P.Mich.</i> XV 752, 9  <i>P.Oxy.</i> IV 743, 39-40  <i>P.Oxy.</i> IX 1218, 9  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLI 2983, 33  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LIX 3997, 21  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXXIII 4962, 5  <i>P.Wisc.</i> II 73, 9  <i>SB XVI</i> 12475, 12</p>	
άνυερθέτως → άνυπερθέτως	<i>O.Claud.</i> III 590, 2	LSJ s.v. άνυπέρθετος
άπαρανοχλήτως → άπαρενοχλήτως	<i>P.Kron.</i> 38, 15-16	LSJ s.v. άπαρενόχλητος Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 283-286
άρραδιουργήτως → άραδιουργήτως	<i>BGU XIX</i> 2827 R, 21	LSJ s.v. άραδιούργητως Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 156
αύθαδῶς → αύθάδως	<p><i>M.Chr.</i> 52, 12  <i>P.Fouad I</i> 26, 22  <i>PSI IV</i> 281, 33  <i>PSI XIII</i> 1323, 9  <i>SB XIV</i> 11904, 11</p>	LSJ s.v. αύθάδης 3
γυμνῶς → γυμνός	<i>PSI I</i> 71, 8	LSJ s.v. γυμνός
διαταχέως → διαταχαίως	<i>P.Sakaon</i> 33, 23	there is no LSJ entry
δυενιαυσίως → δύο έναυσίως or δις έναυσίως	<i>P.Amh.</i> II 148, 8	there is no LSJ entry
έγγραφῶς → έγγράφως	<i>O.Claud.</i> IV 885, 9	LSJ s.v. έγγραφος
ειδότης → ειδότης	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 180, 20	Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 277
ειθισμένως → ειθισμένος	<i>P.Oxy. Hels.</i> 37, 6	LSJ s.v. ειθισμένος
ένγράφως → έγγράφως	<i>BGU XI</i> 2059, 6	LSJ s.v. έγγραπτος Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 168
ένγράφως → έγγράφως	<p><i>BGU VII</i> 1658, 6  <i>W.Chr.</i> 177, 25-26  <i>CPR VII</i> 3, 9  <i>CPR XVII A</i> 6, 8  <i>P.Cair. Isid.</i> 70, 8  <i>P.Coll. Youtie II</i> 79, 11  <i>P.Heid.</i> IV 336, 26  <i>P.Mich.</i> V 272, 1  <i>P.Mich.</i> V 321, ctr, 8  <i>P.Oxy.</i> I 67, 19  <i>P.Oxy.</i> II 237, 7, 13  <i>P.Oxy.</i> III 475, 8  <i>P.Oxy.</i> VII 1032, 18  <i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1252 R, 34</p>	LSJ s.v. έγγραφος Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 168

	<p><i>P.Oxy.</i> XIX 2228, 41  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIII 2665, 16  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXVIII 2849, 22  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3195, 14 and 37  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLV 3245, 13  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIX 3472, 16  <i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3581, 11  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LI 3620, 19  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LIV 3729, 16-17  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3926, 39-40  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXI 4122, 15  <i>P.Panop. Beatty</i> 1, 112 and 175  <i>P.Sakaon</i> 32, 26  <i>P.Sakaon</i> 38, 15  <i>PSI</i> III 229, 21  <i>PSI</i> V 456, 8  <i>PSI Congr.</i> XX 16, 3  <i>SB</i> XVI 12576, 5  <i>SPP</i> V 101. Fr1. 5  <i>SPP</i> XX 13, v, 14</p>	
ἐνέργως → ἐνεργῶς	<i>BGU</i> II 401, 18	LSJ s.v. ἐνεργός III
ἐνπροθέσμως → ἐμπροθέσμως	<p><i>P.Bub.</i> I 1, 1, 8  <i>P.Oxy.</i> I 61, 12  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXI 2567, 10  <i>P.Panop. Beatty</i> 2, 220  <i>SB</i> XVIII 13175, 16</p>	LSJ s.v. ἐμπρόθεσμος Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 168
ἐντείμως → ἐντίμως	<i>P.Vet. Aelii</i> 10, 5	LSJ s.v. ἔντιμος I.3 Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 190-191
ἐντιμῶς → ἐντίμως	<i>P.Harr.</i> II 206, 3	LSJ s.v. ἔντιμος I.3
ἐξαιρετῶς → ἐξαιρέτως	<p><i>P.Amh.</i> II 136, 11  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> I 67068, 13</p>	LSJ s.v. ἐξαιρετός IV
ἐξερέτως → ἐξαιρέτως	<i>P.Bas.</i> 19, 6	LSJ s.v. ἐξαιρετός IV Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 192-193
εὐθαιρέτως → αὐθαιρέτως	<i>BGU</i> XIII 2245, 2, 11	LSJ s.v. αὐθαίρετος III Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 278-282
εὐκαίρως → εὐχερῶς	<p><i>PSI</i> VII 742, 5  <i>P.Hal.</i> 17, 7 (?)</p>	LSJ s.v. εὐχερής III.1 Gignac, <i>Gram.</i> I, 193
εὐνοικῶς → εὐνοϊκῶς	<p><i>P.Köln</i> II 100, 14  <i>P.Lond.</i> V 1674, 68  <i>P.Palau Rib.</i> 35, 3  <i>P.Prag.</i> I 99, 4</p>	LSJ s.v. εὐνοϊκός
εὐχαίρως → εὐχερῶς	<i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> III 67352, v, 6	LSJ s.v. εὐχερής III.1

		Gignac, Gram. I, 193
ἡμερουσίως → ἡμερησίως	<p>CPR XXII 3, 8  <i>O.Ashm. Shelt.</i> 83, 4  <i>O.Ashm. Shelt.</i> 175, 4  <i>P.Cair. Preis. (2. ed.)</i> 38, 11  <i>SB VIII</i> 9920, r, 9, 3 and 4; r, 10, 4 and 5; r, 13, 1 and 2; r, 14, 2; r, 16, 6; r, 17, 1; r, 18, 2 and 3; r, 19, 3, 4, 6 and 7; r, 21, 6; r, 22, 1  <i>P.Lugd. Bat.</i> XXV 102, 2  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1920, 3, 6, 9 and 11  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVIII 2196, 11  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LV 3804, 231  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4395, 44 and 102  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXXII 4925, 1  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXXV 5064, 21  <i>P.Turner</i> 54, 5 and 7  <i>P.Vars.</i> 27, 13  <i>PSI IV</i> 287, 12  <i>SB I</i> 4483, 15  <i>SB X</i> 10217, 5  <i>SB XIV</i> 12088, 12  <i>SPP VIII</i> 880, 2</p>	LSJ s.v. ἡμερήσιος III.1
θειώδως → θειωδῶς	<p><i>P.Cair. Isid.</i> 1, 11  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> II 67151, ms, 42 and 56  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> III 67312, 27</p>	LSJ s.v. θειώδης (B)
ἰδικῶς → εἰδικῶς	<p><i>BGU XII</i> 2152, 13  <i>BGU XII</i> 2172, 21  <i>BGU XII</i> 2198, 24  <i>CPR I</i> 30, Fr2, 31  <i>CPR VII</i> 40, 22  <i>CPR IX</i> 26, 26  <i>CPR X</i> 23, 10  <i>CPR XIX</i> 44, 7  <i>P.Amh.</i> II 151, 19  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> I 67002, 1, 16  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> I 67097, r, 58  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> I 67120, ctr ,r, 13  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> I 67122, 4  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> II 67126, 27  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> II 67158, 31</p>	<p>LSJ s.v. εἰδικός  LSJ s.v. ἰδικός  Gignac, Gram. I, 189-190</p>

	<p> <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> II 67167, 57  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> III 67169 bis, Fr1, 15  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> III 67303, 19  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> III 67310, r, 8  <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> III 67314, Fr3, 24  <i>P.Col.</i> VIII 244, 6  <i>P.Dub.</i> 32, 14  <i>P.Dub.</i> 33, 17  <i>P.Flor.</i> III 294, 27  <i>P.Flor.</i> III 323, 19  <i>P.Flor.</i> III 384, 102  <i>P.Heid.</i> V 356, 4  <i>P.Herm.</i> 32, 29  <i>P.Jena</i> II 17, 23  <i>P.Köln</i> III 156, ctr, 13  <i>P.Lond.</i> V 1660, 4  <i>P.Lond.</i> V 1661, 21  <i>P.Lond.</i> V 1677, 49  <i>P.Lond.</i> V 1711, FrE, 25  <i>P.Lond.</i> V 1736, 17  <i>P.Mert.</i> III 125, 8  <i>P.Mich.</i> XIII 662, 60  <i>P.Mich.</i> XIII 664, 38  <i>P.Mich.</i> XIII 671, 11  <i>P.Michael.</i> 34, 12  <i>P.Michael.</i> 40, 57  <i>P.Michael.</i> 52, 35  <i>P.Münch.</i> I 14, 79  <i>P.Oxy.</i> I 125, 22  <i>P.Oxy.</i> I 136, 40  <i>P.Oxy.</i> I 138, 38  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1895, 15  <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3204, 25  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LI 3641, 21  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3952, 48  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3958, 33  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4394, 173; 213; 237  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4395, 94  <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4397, 55 and 184  <i>P.Prag.</i> I 46, 16  <i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> III 32, 13  <i>P.Strasb.</i> VIII 799, 4 </p>	
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	<i>P.Vatic. Aphrod.</i> 4, r, FrC, 12 <i>P.Vatic. Aphrod.</i> 5, FrC, 13 <i>P.Vindob. Sijp.</i> 10, 19 <i>PSI VIII</i> 932, 17 <i>SB I</i> 4687, 5 <i>SB XVI</i> 12472, 15 <i>SB XVIII</i> 13320, 93 <i>SB XVIII</i> 13951, 14 <i>SB XXII</i> 15633, 9 <i>SB XXIV</i> 15958, 12 <i>SPP XX</i> 128, 14 <i>SPP XX</i> 227, 7	
κυνῶς → κοινῶς	<i>P.Mich.</i> IX 554, 57	LSJ s.v. κοινός B Gignac, Gram. I, 197-198
μεγαλῶς → μεγάλως	<i>BGU XVI</i> 2640, 7 <i>BGU XVI</i> 2642, 10	LSJ s.v. μέγας B
μηθαμῶς → μηδαμῶς	<i>UPZ I</i> 79, 8	LSJ s.v. μηδαμῶς Gignac, Gram. I, 97
μονίμως → νομίμως	<i>BGU I</i> 246, 7	LSJ s.v. νόμιμος III
ὁμοοίως → ὁμοίως	<i>ChLA XLI</i> 1198, 14	LSJ s.v. ὅμοιος B.II
πανκάκως → παγκάκως	<i>P.Mich.</i> VIII 501, 3	LSJ s.v. πάγκακος I Gignac, Gram. I, 168
παντῶς → πάντως	<i>BGU XVI</i> 2655, 19 <i>O.Bodl.</i> II 2467, 5 <i>P.Dura</i> 29, 14	LSJ s.v. πάντως
παρασυνηθως → συνήθως	<i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> I 67006, r, ctr, 5	LSJ s.v. συνήθης III.2
πιστεῶς → πιστῶς	<i>ChLA III</i> 209, 12	LSJ s.v. πιστός C
πολλάχως → πολλαχῶς	<i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1384, 41	LSJ s.v. πολλαχῶς
πραέως → πράως	<i>P.Lond.</i> VI 1912	LSJ s.v. πῶος III Mayser, Gram. I, 458
προηγούμενως → προηγουμένως	<i>P.Giss.</i> I 103, 3-4	LSJ, s.v. προηγουμένως
πρωινῶς → πρωϊνῶς	<i>SB X</i> 10724, 17	LSJ s.v. πρωϊνός
συνηθῶς → συνήθως	<i>BGU VII</i> 1684, 14 <i>P.Cair. Masp.</i> I 67078, 7 <i>P.Lips.</i> I 37, 14 <i>SB V</i> 7656, 3 <i>SB XVI</i> 12471, 6	LSJ s.v. συνήθης III.2
συνφώνως → συμφώνως	<i>SPP XX</i> 26, 38	LSJ s.v. σύμφωνος II.2 Gignac, Gram. I, 168
ταχείως → ταχέως	<i>BGU XV</i> 2467, 9	LSJ s.v. ταχέως and ταχύς Gignac, Gram. I, 256-257



τάχεως → ταχέως	<i>BGU XVI 2655, 20</i> <i>O.Did.</i> 317, 6 <i>P.Giss.</i> I 54, 8 <i>P.Mich.</i> III 214, 20	LSJ s.v. ταχέως and ταχύς
Τέως → Τεῶς	<i>CPR XIII 4, v, 224</i> <i>P.Count</i> 23, 121 <i>P.Count</i> 24, 31; 36; 51; 67; 143; 176; 245 <i>P.Count</i> 26, 224 <i>P.Count</i> 27, 108 <i>P.Count</i> 29, 45 <i>P.Count</i> 33, 6 <i>P.Count</i> 35, 57	It is a personal name (see Trismegistos, Nam_ID 1349)
Τεὼς → Τεῶς	<i>O.Wilck.</i> 673, 1 <i>P.Iand.</i> IV 58, 9	It is a personal name (see Trismegistos, Nam_ID 1349)
τεῶς → Τεῶς	<i>SB XIV 11266, 27</i>	It is a personal name (see Trismegistos, Nam_ID 1349)
ὑγειῶς → ὑγιῶς	<i>W.Chr.</i> 345, 3, 13	LSJ s.v. ὑγιής III.2 Gignac, Gram. I, 190-191
ὑγαίνως → ὑγιῶς or ὑγεινῶς	<i>PSI VII 839, 3</i>	LSJ s.v. ὑγεινός II
ὑπερσκληρῶς → ὑπερσκλήρως	<i>P.Rein.</i> I 47, 13	LSJ s.v. ὑπερσκλήρως

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## Abstract in English

Although it is commonly believed that all adverbs ending in  $-\omega\varsigma$  denote manner, it seems that there are several exceptions. Within this thesis, then, a special category of those adverbs is examined: The adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  which denote time.

The texts selected to be examined are the private letters of Greco-Roman Egypt. The selection criterion was the language of these texts, which is as close to the vernacular of ancient times as possible, since precision of utterance is not required in this type of documents, in contrast to the official ones.

The adverbs were classified into two major groups, depending on the effort required on the part of the reader to identify the notion of time within their meaning. In the first group adverbs, in which the notion of time is inherent, were placed: Therefore, the time is denoted directly by those adverbs. On the other hand adverbs with indirect temporal nuances were placed in the second group: The indication of time by those adverbs is detected after the enforcement of pragmatic reasoning.

From the point of semantics, adverbs of the first group answer the question "when?", and they cannot be analyzed by means of the corresponding adjective, which derives from the same stem. Instead, adverbs of the second group answer the question "how?", and they can be semantically analyzed as a function of the corresponding adjective.

From the point of syntax, adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , as all the adverbials, function as a complement of a verbal form, either as a part of the verb phrase, or as an external adverbial phrase. The placement of the adverb in the phrase structure varies, and, consequently, some adverbs are found before the modified constituent, while others usually follow that.

From the point of use, some adverbs occur in letters of all three periods, namely the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine, while other adverbs occur only in letters dated to specific periods. Finally, there are some adverbs, the use of which in private letters was influenced by their use in non-epistolary types of documents, and there are also other adverbs, which probably belonged to the informal vocabulary.

## Abstract in Greek

Παρόλο που είναι κοινή η πεποίθηση ότι όλα τα επιρρήματα σε -ως φανερώνουν τρόπο, φαίνεται πως υπάρχουν αρκετές εξαιρέσεις. Στα πλαίσια αυτής της εργασίας, λοιπόν, εξετάζεται μια ειδική κατηγορία αυτών των επιρρημάτων, τα επιρρήματα σε -ως που δηλώνουν χρόνο.

Τα κείμενα που επιλέχθηκαν να εξεταστούν είναι οι ιδιωτικές επιστολές της Ελληνορωμαϊκής Αιγύπτου. Το κριτήριο της επιλογής ήταν η γλώσσα αυτών των κειμένων, η οποία αποτελεί ό,τι πιο κοντινό στην καθομιλουμένη της Αρχαιότητας μπορεί να είναι προσβάσιμο, αφού δεν απαιτούνταν σε αυτού του είδους τις επιστολές η ακρίβεια στην έκφραση, η οποία χαρακτηρίζει τα επίσημα έγγραφα.

Τα επιρρήματα ταξινομήθηκαν σε δύο μεγάλες ομάδες, ανάλογα με την προσπάθεια που απαιτείται από τον αναγνώστη, ώστε να εντοπιστεί η έννοια του χρόνου μέσα στη σημασία τους. Στην πρώτη ομάδα τοποθετήθηκαν τα επιρρήματα στη σημασία των οποίων η έννοια του χρόνου είναι εγγενής, και, επομένως, ο χρόνος δηλώνεται απευθείας. Στη δεύτερη ομάδα τοποθετήθηκαν τα επιρρήματα για τα οποία απαιτείται ένας λογικός πραγματολογικός συλλογισμός, ώστε να γίνει αντιληπτή η έμμεση δήλωση του χρόνου από αυτά.

Από την πλευρά της σημασιολογίας, τα επιρρήματα της πρώτης ομάδας απαντούν στην ερώτηση «πότε;», και δεν μπορούν να αναλυθούν με τη βοήθεια του αντίστοιχου ομόριζου επιθέτου. Αντίθετα, τα επιρρήματα της δεύτερης ομάδας απαντούν στην ερώτηση «πώς;», και αναλύονται σημασιολογικά ως συνάρτηση του αντίστοιχου ομόριζου επιθέτου.

Από την πλευρά της σύνταξης, τα επιρρήματα σε -ως, όπως και όλα τα επιρρήματα, λειτουργούν ως συμπληρώματα κάποιου ρηματικού τύπου. Η θέση τους στη φραστική δομή ποικίλλει, και κάποια προηγούνται του προσδιοριζόμενου όρου, ενώ κάποια άλλα συνήθως έπονται.

Από την πλευρά της χρήσης, κάποια επιρρήματα απαντούν σε επιστολές και των τριών περιόδων, δηλαδή της Πτολεμαϊκής, της Ρωμαϊκής και της Βυζαντινής, ενώ τα υπόλοιπα επιρρήματα που εξετάστηκαν απαντούν μόνο σε επιστολές συγκεκριμένων περιόδων. Τέλος, υπάρχουν κάποια επιρρήματα, των οποίων η χρήση σε ιδιωτικές



επιστολές επηρεάστηκε από τη χρήση τους σε μη επιστολικά είδη εγγράφων, και κάποια άλλα, που μάλλον ανήκαν στο καθημερινό λεξιλόγιο των ανθρώπων.